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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA BULLETIN

THE CITY MANAGER PLAN

J. W. SCROGGS, EDITOR

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION



NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

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DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

DEBATE BULLETIN THE CITY MANAGER PLAN

J. W. SCROGGS, EDITOR

Question. Class A. Oklahoma High School Debating League,
1918-19

RESOLVED—That the City Manager Plan of Municipal Government should be adopted in all cities of the United States with over 5,000 inhabitants.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY BY THE UNIVERSITY
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

FOREWORD.

THE SUBJECT OF THIS BULLETIN WAS CHOSEN BY THE SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS AT THEIR MEETING AT THE UNIVERSITY IN APRIL, 1918.

It is the custom of the University thru its Extension Division to issue a debate bulletin on the subject chosen for the inter-high school debate. The subject of this bulletin was chosen by the school superintendents at their meeting at the University in April, 1918. The preparation of a debate bulletin on the City Manager Plan has been one of unusual difficulty. Many magazine articles have appeared in favor of it, but the question is so new that very little has been written against it. Even those who question its expediency are willing to see it given a full trial before attacking it. Most of the negative arguments have to be picked up where they can be found,—brief paragraphs, incidental remarks, frank admissions, sometimes even of its advocates. The following extract from a letter from one of the best municipal research bureaus in the country will indicate the difficulty:

"Neither our files nor the Public Affairs Information Service index has brought to our attention any other negative material of the city manager problem. The Bibliography of Municipal Government by William B. Monroe does not indicate any negative material either."

Every debater should debate both sides of every question, and especially such a question as this one. In no other way can the young debater compel himself to do full justice to the other side. This is not an academic question, but one of great importance to every city, whichever way it may be decided. Do not debate in order merely to win the decision, but to make of yourself an effective debater. For the sake of the debate you should do full justice to the arguments for your side; but far more important than that you must be loyal to the truth of the question; you should never lose sight of that. Otherwise you may become a mere pettifogger instead of a convincing speaker.

J. W. SCROGGS, Editor,

Dept. of Public Discussion and Debate.

University of Oklahoma.

TESTIMONIES FROM CITY-MANAGER CITIES.

The Editor wrote to 106 cities reported to have city managers. Of the 66 who answered, 5 report that the city manager plan has not yet gone into effect; the reports from 61 are tabulated below.

	Years in use?	Is it successful?	Is it cheaper?	Is it more efficient?	Is Mgr. resident?	National politics?	OBJECTIONS HEARD
Hot Springs, Ark.-----	1½	No	No	No	Yes	No	Complete failure. Expense \$7000 or \$8000 and nothing to show for it. McClendon, None.
Alameda, Calif.-----	1½	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Extract No. 1 below.
Santa Barbara, Calif.-----	1½	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Extract No. 2.
San Diego, Calif.-----	2	No	No	No	Yes	No	Extract No. 3.
San Jose, Calif.-----	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Extract No. 4.
Boulder, Colo.-----	½	Yes	?	Yes	No	No	Principally from politicians who are not recognized politically. Harry Jackson, None. Has proved even more successful than we expected. D. R. Grant, Mayor.
Durango, Colo.-----		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Got into politics and quit after one year. Money troubles and lack of support on part of council make it temporarily inoperative. Thoroughly satisfied. Adopted by majority of 18.
Montrose, Colo.-----	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Commission re-elected two to one.
Lakeland, Fla.-----	4	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	None.
Ocala, Fla.-----		?	?	?	No	No	Extract No. 5.
St. Augustine, Fla.-----	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Thoroughly satisfactory.
Webster City, Iowa.-----	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	
El Dorado, Kan.-----	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	
Cynthiana, Ky.-----	½	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	

OBJECTIONS HEARD

	Years in use?	Is it successful?	Is it cheaper?	Is it more efficient?	Is Mgr. resident?	National politics?	
Waltham, Mass.-----	1½	Yes		Yes	No	No	None.
Albion, Mich.-----	4	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Too much power given city manager.
Alpena, Mich.-----		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Manager Form' is the right system; means efficiency and economy. Wm. G. Streater.
Big Rapids, Mich.-----		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No serious objection.
Cadillac, Mich.-----	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Extract No. 6
Birmingham, Mich.-----		Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Extract No. 7
Grand Haven, Mich.-----		Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Like all concentrations of power, it depends largely on ability of city manager. Mayor.
Grand Rapids, Mich.-----	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	None, except that the old politicians do not like it. Christian Gallmayer, Mayor.
Jackson, Mich.-----	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	People lose interest in election.
Crystal Falls, Mich.-----		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	A. W. D. Hall, City Manager.
Manistee, Mich.-----		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	We have found absolutely no objection.
Petoskey, Mich.-----	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Sam. Bridges, Mayor.
Three Rivers, Mich.-----	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Never heard any complaints against it.
Morris, Minn.-----		Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Supported wholeheartedly. P. H. Beauvais.
		Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Everybody satisfied. Would not go back to the old way. John L. A. Gallster, W. H. Gay, Mayor.
							We aim to keep politics out and run city on strictly business principles. G. W. Guntz.

OBJECTIONS HEARD

	Years in use?	Is it successful?	Is it cheaper?	Is it more efficient?	Is Mgr. resident?	National politics?	
Albuquerque, New Mex.	1½	Yes	?	Yes	Yes	No	Extract No 8.
Newberg, New York.---	2	Yes		?	Yes	No	The only difficulty experienced here is the elimination of politics.
Elizabeth City, N. Car.	3	No	No	No	Yes	No	A great plan for a large city but not good for a small city. P. G. Sawyer, Mayor.
Hickory, N. Car.---	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Only difficulty is getting a competent man.
Moorehead City, N. Car.		Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	None. It is the only way to run a business; our town is a business.
Morgantown, N. Car.---	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	None.
Thomasville, N. Car.---		Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Objections few; advantages many.
Ashtabula, Ohio.---	2½	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Not perfect but much better than the old way.
Dayton, Ohio.---	1½	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Extract No. 9.
East Cleveland, Ohio.---	1½	Yes		Yes	No	No	None.
Springfield, Ohio.---	4½	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Extract No. 10
Westerville, Ohio.---	2½	Yes	?	Yes	No	No	Everything in its favor; we have found no objections
Xenia, Ohio.---	1½	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	G. F. Bonds, Mayor.
Collinsville, Okla.---	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Extract No. 11.
Madill, Okla.---		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Highly pleased.
Mangum, Okla.---	2	Yes	?	Yes	Yes	No	Everything in its favor.
South Charleston, Ohio.---	1½	Yes	?	Yes	Yes	No	Only weakness is getting good commissioners.

OBJECTIONS HEARD					
	Years in use?	Is it successful?	Is it cheaper?	Is it more efficient?	Is Mgr. resident?
La Grande, Ore.----- Edgeworth, Pa.-----		Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
		Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Sumpter, S. Car.----- Bryan, Tex.-----	6	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
		Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Lubbock, Tex.----- San Angelo, Tex.----- Taylor, Tex.----- Tyler, Tex.----- Yoakum, Tex.----- Wheeling W. Va.-----	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
		Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	2½	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
		Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Amarillo, Tex.----- Bakersfield, Calif.-----	5	No	No	No	No
		Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Rock Hill, S. Car.----- Sanusky, Ohio.----- Kalamazoo, Mich.----- Alhambra, Calif.-----	1½	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
		Yes	?	Yes	No
		Yes	?	Yes	No
		Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Far better than the Council plan.
No objections whatever. Our manager
serves two other towns.

None.
Very little objection. Manager hard to
find just now.

More efficient in every way.

None.

None.

None.

None.

No objections of consequence, and those by
politicians. No comment necessary. Mayor.
Extract No. 12.

None except by political leaches.

C. L. Taylor, Mayor.

None.

It is a pretty big job for one man.

No well founded objection yet.

People skeptical at first; but it is very popu-
lar now.

Extracts from Answers to Letters in Answer to the Question,
"What Objections Have You Heard to the City Manager Plan."

• Extract No. 1; Santa Barbara, Calif.—"Our chief difficulties thus far have been due to defects in a theoretically—not practically—drawn charter. No great objection has developed to the city manager plan itself, the success of which depends, of course, on the care used and the freedom from politics in selecting the manager, and letting him alone after he has been selected."

Extract No. 2; San Diego, Calif.—"The city manager plan is, to my way of thinking, a false prophet and only is successful where some great catastrophe has visited a district or municipality, and the prominent men of the city take charge of affairs and sacrifice their time, and employ a competent efficiency man to become city manager under their direction until that municipality has righted itself and adjusted its balance to normal conditions. Now right at this point the city manager plan ceases to be a virtue, because the able business direction has become tiresome and the business men wish to retire to their own affairs, since their well-meaning sacrifice is without compensation, and at all times subject to criticism and attack by jealousies, office seekers, and cheap politicians.

"Much depends upon a proper charter. Put a good man in office for mayor with a sound business head; hold him responsible by placing responsibility right where you can find it. Your council should be selected from districts but elected at large. The mayor should be paid well in order to get the right type of man for chief executive, and he should be the city manager and direct the destinies of the city under a charter which gives him authority.
L. J. Wilde, Mayor.

(Note. This plan is known as the "Mayor-Manager Plan.—Ed.)

Extract No. 3; San Jose, Calif.:—"The system has worked out admirably; has given us better results for less money than ever before."

Extract No. 4; Boulder, Colo.—"We have not been operating under this system long enough perhaps to satisfactorily prove it, but I am convinced that it is the right plan. One of the things which any city should guard against is false economy in trying to employ too cheap a man. We have a city of about 12,000 and we are paying our manager \$4,000 a year. We believe we have the right man in the right place. Obviously he cannot revolutionize things in a few months. He is making haste slowly, studying our problems and our situation, and overcoming our difficulties as rapidly as is consistent with good business."

Extract No. 5; El Dorado, Kan.—"We consider the plan a decided success. * * As to the objection to this form of gov-

ernment, will say that about the only objection I have heard to this plan is that it places the management or control of the city affairs in the hands of one, or only a few people. I believe that any city that will adopt the manager form of government will find it satisfactory, and, in my opinion, the larger the city the more satisfactory they will find it."

Extract No. 6; Cadillac, Mich.—"It might be considered somewhat along the lines of autocracy. The city manager is something that the people will have to be educated to in order to have them fully appreciate the fact that they have but one head to go to with their complaints. It is very seldom that a city retains its first manager for a very long period, from the fact that it takes a long time to have the people acquaint themselves with the new form of government; but take it as a whole, if business is to be injected into the city government, as it is intended to be, the manager plan will produce good results, and the manager will be home man, as the masses of the people believe that they have as good men in their communities as there are in any other.

James Johnston, Mayor.

Extract No. 7; Birmingham, Mich.—"The centralized authority and responsibility is a great step forwards in the public management of any village, town or city.

"While we have expended just as much money under this new administration we have accomplished three times as much.

"People begin to realize that 'influence' is not stronger than justice. It is sometimes difficult to act without prejudice. This would be a greater obstacle where 'local' parties are entrusted with such duties."

G. A. Abbott, Village Manager.

Extract No. 8; Albuquerque, N. Mex.—"The chief objections to the plan come from the political soreheads. The great bulk of the intelligent, altruistic citizens are highly in favor of the plan. The cost of the commission-manager form is \$4,000 per annum greater than under the aldermanic system; but this has been offset already by economies in administration and augmentation of revenues from sources overlooked previously."

Extract No. 9; East Cleveland, Ohio.—"The objections come from those wishing special privileges and from the old line politicians who are used to the old method of doing city business. There are no real objections to this form of government as it is a great improvement over the old form."

Extract No. 10; Westerville, Ohio.—"The chief objections as far as I can see them lie in the percentage of the municipal revenue which must be paid as salary to a manager. In small places a comparatively large percentage of the revenue goes into that one channel. This objection in my mind can be overcome in small towns by a system of co-operation. I have had in mind for some time the preparation of an article for some magazine on the subject but up to date have not done so. I will merely suggest

my line of thought which I may develop later if some one else does not 'beat me to it.' My thought is this: The average small town does not have enuf money to employ a first class manager. Neither does it hav enuf business of a managerial type to demand all the time of a high grade manager, consequently, much of his time is taken up in doing clerical work which could be done just as well by a good clerk. Where counties are moderately thickly populated as they usually are in the East and middle West, there is no reason why three or four towns could not cooperate and employ the same manager and let him divide his time among them, formulate policies, look after the general administrative work, and intrust the clerical and detailld routine work to a good clerk in each town. This implies a cooperation which I realize does not exist in many places, but it can be developept. So far as the legal aspect is concerned, in our state there would be nothing to prevent a half a dozen towns from choosing the same manager.

"For the large city, or a city of any size, I believe in the manager form of government. I believe in it just as strongly for small towns so far as their finances will permit."

Otterbein University. Charles Snavelly, Chairman of Council.

Extract No. 11; Collinsville, Okla.—From the report of the State Examiner and Inspector:

"The records indicate that the city has passt thru a very prosperous year, and by the business-like methods of the commissioners and Business Manager, the treasury reflected a cash surplus at the close of business, June 30. This surplus existed with all the obligations of the year covered, and in spite of the fact that the operations of the city were greatly increast during the period coverd. The collections of the water and light departments were far in excess of the estimated earnings, which fact created many obligations for the city which were not considered at the beginning of the fiscal year. Despite this condition the commissioners increast the capital outlay of the plant from the current revenues and managed to handle the large volume or new business without the necessity of a bond issue."

Extract No. 12; Amarillo, Tex.—"Impossible to procure a man competent—office man and work—; street improvement and work. It is something like a saddle and harness horse (a rare combination.) Usually a book and office man is rarely good for other constructive management and work."

THE CITY MANAGER PLAN.**THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE PLAN.**

By Richard S. Childs.

Secretary the National Short Ballot Organization, New York

The city-manager plan, or, as they more exactly call it in Dayton, the commission-manager plan, provides for a single elective board of directors, which may be called a commission or council. This commission receives nominal salaries or none (except, probably, in very large cities) and the members give only part of their time to municipal work, and thus are left free to continue their private careers without interruption. Their functions are to hire and supervise an appointive chief executive called the city manager, who holds office at their pleasure; also to pass ordinances and to contribute to the city government the amateur and representative element. If, for example, the city manager proposes the municipal operation of the street car line, the commission will have the duty of examining the proposition, first as to its wisdom and second as to whether such a move accords with public sentiment with which they, as representative native citizens having wide personal acquaintance throughout the city, are supposed to be familiar. If the decision is favorable to municipal operation, they have the further responsibility of seeing that the city manager is competent to handle the job and that he does handle it properly in the years that follow.

The city manager, as chief executive, holds universal appointive power over the administrative establishment. He is not necessarily a local resident. Supposedly he is an expert in matters of municipal administration. In small cities he should be a practical civil engineer, thereby making a separate city engineer unnecessary. In large cities broad executive experience would of course be a major requirement. The city manager's salary should be the largest in the city's service.

The logical exception to the appointive power of the city manager would be a civil service commission and an auditor. These would be appointive directly by the commission. In large cities the auditor might well be given such powers as are possessed by the commissioners of accounts in New York City, who have power to compel witnesses to give testimony under oath whether those witnesses are city employees or not, and to make free-lance investigations of city expenditures and work.

Distinguished from Commission Plan.

The commission-manager plan differs from the commission plan in the fact that the commissioners do not assume the actual executive management of each of the city departments, but delegates the administrative work to the manager.

The plan preserves the basic merits of the commission plan, which are: (1) the short ballot, and (2) the unification of powers.

By the "short ballot" is meant the limiting of the number of elective officers which are to be chosen by the voters. For example, it would be a violation of the principle if the commission were made so large that the typical voter was called upon to vote for more than five offices simultaneously. When more than five officers are voted for at any one time, the voter ceases to make an individual choice for each office and begins to use ready-made tickets prepared for him by interested parties. This will hold true even if the ballot is non-partisan or in such form as to compel a separate mark for every candidate. The "ticket," if it does not take the form of a column on the ballot, will nevertheless persist in the form of memoranda circulated through the press by organized civic and political bodies in such form that the voter can copy the list when marking his ballot. Obviously, when the ballot requires more choices than his majesty, the voter, cares to remember, power gravitates away from the voters into the hands of the ticket-makers, who thus acquire opportunities which are open to great abuse.

In Dayton and Springfield, Ohio, the two largest cities which have thus far adopted the plan, the number of commissioners is five. In larger cities the number could be more than five, providing, however, that terms expire in rotation so that not more than five would be chosen at any one election, or provided that the ballot, as the voter sees it, is shortened in some other way, as by dividing the city into wards, each of them electing five or less. Proportional representation also provides a way of keeping the ballot short without necessarily making the commission a very small one.

"Unification of power," the other basic merit which commission-manager plan takes over from the Galveston-Des Moines commission plan, means the reposing of all power in a single board. This gives to the whole mechanism the single controlling composite mind which is essential to the success of any organism. (The mayor-and-council plan, for example, lacks unification of powers, since the mayor and the council are prevented by

the charter from getting together and composing their differences by so simple an expedient as the taking of a joint vote.) It would be a violation of the principles of the city-manager plan, therefore, to give to a separate mayor the power to veto the acts of the commission. It would then be a two-headed city instead of a one-headed one.

Advantages of a City Manager.

The advantages of having a city manager are obvious to any business man. For counsel, many minds are needed; for execution, a single head is required. Universal business practice demonstrates this as does also the superior luck which we have had with typical public school systems where a school board does all its work through a hired superintendent. It is important to the plan that the city manager shall be appointive. Any scheme which would make him elective is fatal to the principle.

Even the Dayton arrangement which subjects him to direct recall by the people is damaging to the principle involved, since it diverts responsibility from the commission. He must be the loyal servant of the commissioners, else they cannot be made to take responsibility for his acts. He must in no way be independent of them, although there is no objection to allowing the commission to contract with a city manager and promise to keep him in office for a certain number of years, not exceeding their own tenure, subject to mutual penalties. In large private businesses important managers frequently hold their positions under such contracts and a certain degree of security of office when arranged in this way is no more objectionable in city government than in business. It must, however, not be a charter matter, but something which the commissioners in their own judgment decide to risk.

To make it possible to hire the city manager from out of town not only is helpful in getting expert service, but is highly important to the coming profession of city management. If a city manager cannot look forward to similar positions elsewhere in case he is displaced or outgrows his town, a powerful incentive toward the development of personal efficiency is lost. The fact that the city manager, unlike a mayor, is not necessarily involved in local politics, permits comparative permanence in office of the chief executive of the city, a most important thing to the development of a smoothly running mechanism. In all plans involving elective executives, long tenures are rare. To rid us of the amateur and transient executives which our present

mayors are, and to substitute, or at least permit the substitution of, experienced experts in municipal administration, is enough in itself to justify the coming of the city-manager plan.

How superior, too, is the method thus provided for the interchange of experience among our cities. At present we have various bureaus and publications attempting to do this work in an artificial way—on paper. The city manager of the future will bring to his task the experience of perhaps several cities in which he has himself served. To convey experience spelled out on paper is not to be compared to conveying it thus in a man's head.

The commission-manager plan is a mere extension of, or a rank departure from the Galveston-Des Moines commission plan, according to the point of view, and to some enthusiasts it seems a sacrilege to presume to dissect the mysterious vitals of the commission plan, to dub some features good and some bad and to present proposals for wholesale alterations.

Let us tackle it, however. The commission plan makes each of the five commissioners the acting head of a city department. Mr. John Smith, a wholesale grocer, is well liked, has a rather wide acquaintance, belongs to the Order of Stags, has taken his daughters to Europe once and has a solid business reputation. So he is elected a commissioner and is given charge of the department of safety covering police and fire protection. As a student of his departmental budget he is excellent, for as a business man, this is in his line. As a purchaser of new fire engines he is a hopeless novice, on questions of police discipline he becomes the joke of the rank and file. He improves, however, as time goes on, and just as he begins to feel comfortable in his command his term expires. Another novice elected as he was on issues of personal popularity, takes his place and endeavors, more or less vainly, to obtain a firm grasp on the department.

Getting Right Representation at the City Hall.

Often the commissioner will lack even the little native ability which is described above. In Wichita a railway switchman was elected; in Topeka, a barber; in Des Moines, a laboring man. And as long as popular government goes on, these things will occur, for a deep-seated instinct in our people—an instinct truer than the reasoning of charter makers—insists on sending to the city hall "our own kind" of men—men who understand us and whom we understand. "Yonder kid-gloved employer may be better fitted to boss a big city department, but he is likely

to be more interested in making things pretty up on the hill, than in what goes on down here along the river, where he never comes. We elect Bob Jones, and maybe things will not run smooth and he will have a lot to learn and he will be getting more money than he ever saw before, but we will see him once in a while and he will do anything he can for us, and we will not be expected to take off our hats if we go to ask him for something."

In other words, no matter if commission government does omit to provide for representation and sets up simply five executive offices, all demanding broad administrative ability, the people will nevertheless sweep aside the intent of the charter and elect for considerations or representation just the same. I think the people are right about it, but be they right or wrong, we must cut our cloth according to the fact.

Now, Dayton, at its first election under the commission-manager plan, has elected a printer—not a master printer, but a typesetter, who works at his case for a daily wage. As a member of the commission he will contribute his valuable viewpoint to the joint discussion of municipal projects. On some matters he will be an amateur, and is due to be harmlessly voted down by his confreres. On other matters his will be the most anxiously awaited voice in the discussion, and the other commissioners, merchants to whom the views of labor are mysteries, will defer to his superior knowledge of the popular effect of their proposed acts in certain quarters of the town. But his value as a representative will not be tarnished by his personal inability to administer a large city department successfully. He will have no administrative work to do, no subordinates of his own to discipline, no technical details to supervise.

More Democratic Than Commission Plan.

From the viewpoint of the people, the commission-manager plan is more democratic than the commission plan, because it enlarges the people's field of choice. The commission plan, by implication at least, limits the people in their selection of commissioners to men of the employer class, who are competent to hire and direct the labor of many other men. It might very consistently require candidates to demonstrate that they had previously earned in private life salaries equal to those of commissioners—and what a yell of "class rule" would instantly and justifiably be set up against such a charter! In many a city, commission government has been defeated by the labor element,

whosaw no place in it for men of their class and promptly dubbed it "kid-glove rule."

To state the same thing in a different way, the commission-manager plan gives the people a better control over the government, because it provides a handier handle. They can select the truest representatives, unhampered by any consideration of the business experience or salary-earning capacity of their favorites. Moreover, these representatives, after election, have in turn a surer grip on the government through a manager than if they were individually compelled to assume departmental direction. A police "system," resisting public opinion, could laugh at the series of short-term amateurs who come and go under the commission plan, but not at the new city manager, with his prior experience and his indefinite tenure.

Compared With Mayor-and-Council Plan.

Compare the commission-manager plan now with the old mayor-and-council plan. The commission-manager plan is safer because it eliminates one-man power. The old-style mayor is frequently one-third of the municipal government; sometimes he is practically a clear majority. The city is at the mercy of his whims, his failings, his prejudices. He starts his term with a number of pet projects, oblivious to the incompleting projects of his predecessor. He inaugurates financial reforms, and when the work is well started his term expires and his successor, to whom finance is Greek, enters the city hall and begins talking about a "city beautiful. Under such vacillating direction the city moves in a wobbly course and constructive civic effort is constantly receiving setback and discouragements. No sooner is one executive educated that he is displaced, and the process of enlightenment recommences. The conferences of mayors in certain states represent a crude effort to provide mutual education for these executives, but they fail to do much for the simple reason that each year or two there are wholesale changes of personnel and the mayors meet again as strangers and beginners. Under such circumstances the conference remains always a kindergarten.

Such inherent instability in the chief executive office makes the whole governmental mechanism unstable. Minor city jobs become correspondingly insecure and unattractive to good talent. Tenures depend too little on expertness and too much on luck; consequently, the civil service employee regards self-education in the technique of his position as waste of energy. Ev-

ery administrative reform rests on shifting sand. And it will always be so when policies are swayed by single minds instead of by group of minds.

This instability begets further complications arising from the effort to buttress the mayor's weakness with safeguards. The safeguards promptly become incumbrances not only to the public officers, but also to the people, in attempting to supervise and control those officers. The mayor's appointments are subjected to the necessity of confirmation by the council. Promptly the council becomes the scene of endless intrigues, and, being largely immune from administrative responsibilities, dictates appointments regardless of how the mayor's work may suffer. Minor offices and boards are made appointive for long terms—longer than the term of mayor. Not only is the mayor thus balked in efforts to direct the administration, but the people, who presumably elected him to put through a certain program, are balked too. The charter often hedges in the mayor with overmuch language and red tape in a hopeless attempt to keep him from error, until every progressive effort must wait charter amendment or special enabling act. Such devices provide not stability, but rigidity—a vastly different thing.

"One-Man Power" Abolished.

The commission-manager plan abolishes one-man power entirely. It goes even further in this than the commission plan does, for in the latter each commissioner has a sphere of administrative authority into which other commissioners do not intrude, since, if they find things amiss, they cannot discharge or even discipline him. The election of a crank as old-style mayor would demoralize a town; his election as a commissioner in the commission plan would demoralize one department; his election as commissioner in the commission-manager plan need do no harm whatever, since his notions are safely submerged and blended in the composite mind of the commission, of which he is simply one voting member.

But if the crank becomes city manager? Very well. Instead of being, like a mayor or commissioner, subject to intermittent control at elections or to the rare and heavy process of popular recall, he is subject to continuous control and instant removal by the board of popular representatives, who have every facility for close supervision and on whom his actions reflect. His follies promptly run plump against the questioning of the stable and sober composite mind of a group. On every question,

big or small, the last court of appeal is a group, never a single and possibly opinionated mind. The city manager's appointments, too, are subject to the oversight of the commission, which may, if it desires, insist on considering every appointment he makes, but, unlike the old-style council, it takes the ultimate responsibility for all appointees. There is no need of giving minor boards a protected tenure, since the appointing power is now stabilized. The charter can be primitively simple and short and can safely extend municipal powers in the most free-handed way. More things can be done by flexible administrative rulings, and less and less by wordy, inelastic ordinances. The corporation counsel will have little to do in digging up ancient ordinances or interpreting or stretching the charter.

The Most Democratic Plan.

The first-thought objection to the commission-manager plan is that it is undemocratic in making its most important single official appointive instead of "directly responsible to the people by election." Democracy, however, consists in controlling public officers, not necessarily in electing them, and the most effective way for the people to get a firm grip on the neck of the city manager is by sending a representative group of citizens down to the city hall to see what the manager is doing, with power to fire him and get another any day of the week if he is unsatisfactory or insubordinate. Compared with that method, direct election and recall are crude, clumsy, insufficient and relatively undemocratic.

The ready applicability of the commission-manager plan to cities of different size shows its flexibility. Upon a little town which can afford just one well-paid officer it fits ideally—better by far than either the commission plan or the mayor-and-council plan.

For a great metropolis it is equally well suited, requiring no modifications which affect the basic principle. In fact, it is in large cities that the amateurishness of our elective chief executives is most costly. To be sure, our city managers must be rank beginners for some years to come, while the new profession is getting its membership, but our elective chief executives are amateurs now, and our large cities, whose management is highly technical, display the most wretched need of men who will regard municipal management seriously as a life work of high ambitions. And what a noble new profession it is which opens up to the vision of those pioneer city managers of today!

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Fourth Annual Meeting, Detroit, Nov., '17.

O. E. Carr.

It is four years since our organization was organized, four years full of progress in municipal government in America. Public sentiment has been slowly crystalizing in regard to the matter of government. Disinterested people are becoming more and more allied with the societies which are developing and organizing a movement looking toward improved municipal conditions. As an association, the City Managers have no precedent. Our thought is to be exercised in a new field. How quickly we are beginning to sense details peculiar to our position in government and to reflect upon them!

I have said that four years ago we were organized as an association. By a coincidence, it happens that just four of us who were City Managers then are with the Association now. We have had an idea before that a large percentage of mortality would attend the position of City Manager. Now we see that it is really true. One of the duties which should be added to those of our Secretary should be the tabulation of those who are gone from the profession, tired of the conditions that they found surrounding them.

EVERYBODY BLAMES MANAGER.

Humanity must ever have a means of absolving itself from individual blames or responsibility. Humanity joyfully acclaims the City Manager the brunt of all mischance. The plan fixes the responsibility. The Manager realizes this, even though the irate citizen holds him accountable for weather and other malevolent manifestations of Providence.

A brief contrast with other professions! The lawyer who makes a mistake is able to explain it away to his client, or he goes forth seeking a new client and sues the talker for libel. The doctor who makes a mistake buries it and a silent monument marks the spot where it lies, but, if a city manager makes a mistake, how the opposition does fall in line to see that it receives full publicity and how the citizens joyfully come at the call to lend their services to send it to all the suburbs. On the other hand, the manager works long hours to an end, achieves it and passes on to another. It may be that the problem is organization, it may be finance, and it may be con-

struction. If good the result of his effort is greeted with a silence and he must preforce be content with the approval of his own consciousness of work well done.

PARTY POLITICS DIE HARD.

The conditions of society account for so many managers leaving the field in order to take up a profession where mistakes are accepted as part of man's finite nature. There were many changes of managers in 1916, still others in 1917. Some of the reasons for removal are very strange and paradoxical. One City Manager was openly charged with demoralizing the Republican party. How? He did not consult the party chiefs for names to fill appointments. He played no favorites. He took his position seriously and he applied a private conscience to a public office, all of which, tested by public sentiment, was wrong, and the manager was removed. The paradoxical part of this is that it took place in a municipality which was so progressive as to vote for the city manager form of government. The strangest part of it is that I could name several manager cities affected more or less in this way.

TACT, A PRIME REQUISITE.

At different times in the past, we have discussed the qualifications which we decided a manager should possess. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that the one kind of ability most needed was executive ability. You remember we engineers modestly conceded, that, if an engineer should chance to have this kind of ability, his engineering training would be very useful. I do not know but that, in observing the careers of many of us, some spectacular, some meteoric, some commonplace, I have been moved to place tact in the very first row of essential qualifications. Tact is needed in securing the appointment, in dealing with the public, but above all in relation with the commission. It is so essential that, unless it is exercised, the tenure of office of the individual is bound to be short, regardless of executive ability, efficiency, and education.

Commissioners asked one city manager his reasons for discharging a certain official. He replied that he could discharge any employee with or without reason and, further, that he need not state reasons to the Commission. The manager went on to say that, while in this particular case, he would grant their request and specify reasons, he wished his action to be con-

sidered no precedent. Thereupon, he gave half a dozen reasons, any one of which would have been sufficient grounds for dismissal. But this man is no longer City Manager. He lacked tact. I doubt whether he would be retained as manager of a private corporation, no matter what his productive record, but, with a private corporation, productive record does count. With a municipality he had no chance whatever.

WHEN SOME COMMISSIONERS OPPOSE PLAN.

The situation is complicated for the average manager in that he perhaps has in his commission men who were never in favor of commission-manager government. It is a large part of the work of the manager to keep from developing active antagonism. He must have no feelings in the way if some of his recommendations are rejected. Possibly it may be for the good of the community that they are. He always knows that the records will show just what his recommendations were on the various propositions. Many of the people come to understand these handicaps. Perhaps too, the Commission may come to realize in time that his advice is not lightly given, in fact that his action and advice are exactly what they are paying for. He must not feel irritated if the Commission prefers to reject his recommendations. It is their city and they are responsible to the people.

In the light of these facts, we come again to the conclusion which has often been mentioned in our meetings, that no people can or will have a government better than the majority of the citizens deserve, and out of this conclusion get another, that no form of government can correct errors in thought on the part of its citizens.

NON-PARTISAN PRESS NEEDED.

Our government is built on the idea that the majority of our citizens will inform themselves on civic and national facts. It is obviously possible to achieve this ideal better in national policy than in civic conditions. We have for the purpose in the nation a wide variety of periodicals which open up the range of human thought from so many different view points that it is possible to sift them and arrive at sound conclusions.

But in all our American cities our municipal thought-life is moulded by the daily press. These papers belong to either one party or another. Consequently, the news given out is

colored with partisanship. I believe that all City Managers long for a press that will print city affairs fairly and impartially, that will exercise a criticism constructive and not destructive. I believe that editors also are thinking of the problem. William R. Nelson of the Kansas City Star has reared for himself a monument more potential than that form adopted by another well-wisher of the people who built over the length and breadth of the land, libraries. Mr. Nelson did more, because he left the city in which he had spent his energies, the paper he had made great. Moreover, his idea for its future was that of non-partisanship. He realized the educational value of his work. The Board of Control comprises, by the terms of his will, the Presidents of the Universities of Kansas, Missouri and Nebraska.

Our schools have been taken out of politics, but our great universities of the common people—the newspapers—are still in them. The hopes for the future is that more of our wealthy men may become interested not only in libraries and colleges and foundations, but also in newspapers, that our editors may adopt the ideals of the non-partisan press. Municipalities would thereby eliminate the expense of cross purposes and misunderstandings. Criticism would point out the road toward betterment and we would have efficient government by a well-informed people.

WAR STIMULATES ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT.

Still, we can report progress. Dayton has passed through a political struggle, let us hope the last breath of the machine. The people supported the Administration. Niagara Falls speaks in election uncompromisingly for her manager form of government. Just now we have a particular interest in good government. We are a nation at war. At this time, there is every evidence of a long struggle, resource against resource. Any waste of funds, any waste of effort is bound to help our enemies. The war is bound to produce a wonderful incentive toward economical government in the United States. We look forward to a year of unprecedented growth.

COMMISSION-MANAGER FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Gaylord C. Cummin, City Manager, Grand Rapids.

A city government exists for the purpose of rendering service to the members of the community, which they cannot

secure acting as individuals. The measure of efficiency of such a government is the amount of service which it can render for the amount of money that the community feels disposed to spend.

It must be understood that the rendering of this service, to meet the ideals, must be based on community needs, and not on individual needs. All questions must be judged on their merits, and not on the basis of the opinions or supposed influence of the persons presenting same. All members of the community must be considered on an equal basis.

The citizen is vitally interested in two general phases of his government, and these two only. First, in the policies pursued, and ordinances and regulations adopted, and attitude taken toward public questions. Second, in carrying out the first phase in the most thorough manner possible. These phases of "purpose of" and "citizen interest" in city government must be kept clearly in mind in discussing a satisfactory form for such government.

The legislative body of a city, composed of the direct representatives of the citizens, has to do with the first of these two phases, no matter what form of city government (in use in the United States) is considered, and this is the real governing function, and in the last analysis the legislative body is supreme. However, in many forms a check in the form of a Mayor's veto, where the Mayor is separately responsible, is used. Then in our usual form a further check is placed by putting the power to carry (or not carry) out the policies laid out by the legislative body in the hands of officials not responsible to the legislative body at all, but either separately responsible to the people, or responsible to an administrative board.

This system of checks was supposed to prevent abuse of power, and a whole lot of other evils, none of which it has prevented, but it did effectually prevent reaching the highest efficiency in getting things done.

The result of this system of checks has been that in many cases the representatives of the people, whether administrative or legislative, could not give the people the service desired, because either the administrative group refused to carry out the policies of the legislative group, or did it in a half-hearted manner, paying far more attention to mutual jealousies than to getting service rendered, or the administrative group could not

get legislative co-operation on matters where they were held responsible.

Any of you men who have been any length of time in a Council, will remember instances where the administrative branch has acted in this way, and any of you who have held administrative positions for any length of time know of instances where you were held responsible by the people for conditions which the Council prevented you from correcting and the poor people did not know whom to hold responsible, but went after some one's scalp with a fifty-fifty chance of getting the wrong man in the mix-up.

These methods make irresponsible government. Where the people do not know who is responsible and where the officials themselves have a hard time really figuring out just what they are responsible for, and whom they are responsible to, this condition leads to a tendency on the part of the government to shift responsibility for anything and everything from one to the other of its branches, or individuals. Divided and doubtful responsibility is a mighty enemy to accomplishments. Lack of harmony between the working parts of a government is fatal, as it is in any line of work or play. You must have team work to get results.

Returning to our definition that a city government exists for the purpose of rendering service to the community, we find that in most local governments the machinery is such as to make it just as difficult as possible to get results. In other words, the man placed in public office by the people is placed there under organization conditions that would make success impossible in private business, and certainly makes it so in public business. Success being used in the sense of what might be accomplished. This is unfair to both the people and the official.

In order to get things done, all of our normal experience teaches us that you must have centralized responsibility and harmony. As the most important and real directing branch of a government is the legislative, it is certainly logical to centralize the responsibility upon them. If they are to be held responsible for results, they must have administrative machinery which will carry out their policies, and that can mean but one thing, and that is, that the administrative functions must be directly responsible to the legislative and to it alone.

We find also in our common experience in business affairs,

as in administrative affairs, that the responsibility must be centralized on one man, so that there is no divided authority in administrative matters, and there is definitely placed responsibility. In our general experience we do just this thing when we want to accomplish things. We elect from among those interested in the proposition a representative body or board who represents our interests, and whom we hold responsible for results. They appoint a chief administrative officer, who runs the business of the corporation under the board's direction, and is held responsible for the carrying out of plans and policies which the board initiates or approves. This is the skeleton of all business corporations. Applied to municipal corporations it is a Commission-Manager plan.

The Commission-Manager plan is not a panacea for all municipal troubles. Neither is there, or will there be any such plan. You cannot legislate honest, efficient and satisfactory government. The Commission-Manager plan gives better tools with which to work, so that exactly the same set of officials who are operating an old form should get much better results if placed under a form of organization fitted for getting things done. It at least gives the official the best chance to succeed by giving him the simplest and most up-to-date tools for his work which we now have.

COMMISSIONER-MANAGER FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Discussion by L. D. Upton,

Director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research.

From a long and practical experience, Mr. Cummin has stated the principal advantages of the City Manager Plan of government as it at present operates:

1. The administrative details of government are delegated to one individual who is assumed to have an aptitude for governmental administration, and who frequently has an extensive experience with several important activities of government.

2. The legislative activities of government rest with a small group of citizens elected at large and who are in a large measure independent of undesirable political influences.

These two statements epitomize the advantages of the City Manager Plan of governing cities. However, volumes have been written in amplification of these statements and many more

volumes must be written before these simple conditions are thoroughly understood and the problems they raise are solved.

To begin with, it is necessary to emphasize over and over again that the City Manager has no legislative function. He is a hired man. He does what he is told to do by the people's representatives. He administers the laws which are made for him. He directs the routine operations of the departments which are placed in his charge. But, under no circumstances, does he determine the policies of those departments, when those policies should be determined by the people themselves. For example, the City Manager must run the water works efficiently, but he does not determine rates. He must insure that the police enforce the laws impartially, but he does not make the laws. He must see that the streets are cleaned well and cheaply, but he does not determine the amount of money which will be spent for street cleaning. To be sure his advice on legislative matters is frequently accepted. If there were citizens in the community better trained or more experienced than the City Manager, no doubt their advice would be accepted more readily on matters having to do with legislation.

The relation of the City Manager to the legislative body and to the city departments have, in the past four years, been rather well determined. To be sure the departmental organization laid down in some of the earlier charters has been slavishly followed by many cities, some times to their detriment. However, these mistakes are not very serious and will be corrected in time.

It might be well, however, if cities considering the City Manager Plan of government would realize that a departmental organization suitable to one community is not necessarily suitable to their own. For example, one municipality may find it desirable to create five large departments, dealing with finance, safety, public works, law and welfare, the heads of which report to the City Manager. This does not mean that a city of 1,000,000 population should not have 20 of these main departments reporting to the City Manager, and it does not mean that a city of 10,000 or 20,000 population should have three or five or seven departments. The character and number of the departments should be determined by the local situation. Personally, I am of the opinion that in smaller communities, it would be advantageous to dispense with these big departments and have perhaps ten or a dozen smaller ones, subordinate to

the city's executive officer. For example, in the small city there is no good reason why the police chief and the fire chief should not report directly rather than through a Director of Safety. In the same way, it may be advantageous for the City Engineer and the Superintendent of Water to be independent of the Director of Public Works. The Director of Welfare might be done away with in favor of a Health Officer and a Superintendent of Parks, etc. In the smaller community, such an organization does away with executive officers, who are in part unnecessary, and at the same time secure a large measure of technical control.

In the same way communities have come to believe that the small city commission elected at large is an essential to the City Manager Plan. In fact the term Commission has become associated with the City Manager until we hear this type of government commonly referred to as the "Commission-Manager Plan." Such a situation is not essential nor is it always desirable. To be sure a small group of citizens elected at large is very much to be preferred to a Common Council elected by wards. The chief criticism of such bodies is that they are entirely too "common." The smaller elective body has many advantages over such a council, but this does not mean that the problem of representation is entirely solved. Frankly, I think the big question of the City Manager Plan of government has not to do with the City Manager but to do with the form of the city's legislative body. All we can say of the small council is that it is better than the large one. Ashtabula is trying out Proportional representation and Kalamazoo is thinking seriously of making the same step. Students of government and citizens will do well to watch these experiments, friendly but critically. All credit is due these communities for undertaking these innovations.

The City Manager Plan is only four years old. No governmental organization can be developed to perfection in such a short length of time. Therefore, it behooves every community to examine its operations carefully and make such changes in their plans as experience indicates to be desirable. Communities must be brave enough to profit from their experience. Cities owe it to themselves and to the country to improve upon the City Manager Plan as it is now laid down. It is only by this means that its weaknesses may be corrected and its strength fully developed.

THE DAYTON IDEA.

(Elbert Hubbard.)

Down in Dayton things are doing. Out of the mud and mire of the flood have been distilled loyalty, love, organization and brotherhood—

From an overgrown village, Dayton comes into the limelight as a city set on a hill.

If the things being done in Dayton had only a local significance, they would not be worth recording, but the fact is, the eyes of the world are upon Dayton. There, a new system of municipal government is being worked out. Dayton is moving in the right direction. She is in the vanguard, pointing the way.

MUNICIPAL POLITICIANS

Twenty-five years ago Ambassador Bryce in his book, *THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH*, presented us a few literary snapshots of ourselves. At first we were inclined to argue the matter; now we acknowledge the truth.

Ambassador Bryce among other things said, "American municipalities are governed by the worst in the worst possible way."

What he had in mind, of course, was the system of party politics, whereby aldermen are elected to represent certain wards. Each alderman is true to his ward. His business is to give work to the voters, and to siphon as much ready money in his own particular direction as possible. Often his official limit of life is very short. He pays his political debts in patronage. Water, gas, light, transportation, paving, parks—all have to pay tribute to the political ward-heeler. Men in one ward hold up all improvements in other wards. The matter settles itself down to a system of barter and sale, and the taxpayers foot the bills—

We cannot possibly imagine a successful business concern managed on the political party plan. In party politics we elect the man who presents the most plausible palaver, who spends most money, secures the greatest applause and finally captures the most votes.

No legitimate business could hope to secure success under such a form of management. For a superintendent or a foreman to dissipate the funds of a manufacturer the way municipal politicians usually do, would spell bankruptcy, and quickly too. It is but a truism to state that private business today must be

carried on in the line of simplicity, truth, directness, economy, to the end that employees, stockholders and the public shall prosper. A municipality in one sense is a stock company where every citizen holds one share. And city business should be conducted exactly on the same lines of economy and efficiency as are brought to bear in private affairs. And this is the great central truth in the Dayton idea—

The city affairs in Dayton are managed by a board of five Commissioners, who are elected by the people—These in turn employ a Manager—more frequently called the City Manager—who serves during good behavior, subject to recall. He is given full swing to go ahead and use his best judgment in all matters relating to the welfare of the city. He hires and fires and fixes salaries. Macaulay said, "There is no government in the world equal to an absolute monarchy where the monarch is wise and true." Someone else has said that a committee is a thing that takes a month to do what any one man can do in an hour.

One-man power is the effective thing at the last. Yet we recognize that power unrestrained tends to tyranny, and any general manager must be responsible to his stockholders; and to secure the very best possible service from your general manager and allow him to misuse his power is the problem.

The idea of a commission form of government had its rise in Galveston, born of a calamity, when a tidal wave swept the city and among other things carried out every vestige of city government. The municipal government must have been a very impermanent, unstable affair—otherwise it would not have given way. Benjamin Franklin once made a remark to the effect that in the dark all cats are gray. We could also say that in the sunlight, in peace and prosperity, all men look much alike. Men cannot be judged by the size of their heads, by height, or weight, complexion or color of eyes. The important things in life are intangible and unseen. It is danger, difficulty, seeming disaster that test the human fabric.

Galveston's mayor, comptroller, city treasurer, board of alderman, and chief of police, went out with the tide. They sought personal safety, and were appalled and reduced to nothingness by the force of the rolling waters. To bring cosmos out of chaos was the work of the few intrepid, dauntless, heroic souls who rose to the level of events and took charge of things by divine right.

By popular acclaim one man was appointed as general man-

ager. All looked to him. He outlined his organization, appointed men to look after certain things and perform certain tasks. And without hate or fear or panic or apology he took charge, and the city was rehabilitated and rebuilt.

Exactly the same thing happened in San Francisco. The regular city government disappeared in the day of difficulty, and the business men of the town stepped into the breach and did their tasks thoroughly, almost jauntily and joyfully, building on the ruins of the old a city beyond compare.

THE NEW IDEA.

Party politics, with the idea that "to the victors belong the spoils," is a rudimentary survival of the Roman idea of exploitation and annexation. One wielded the spear and sword, the other is satisfied with the power of tax. The folly, futility and waste of the old-style partisan government have been apparent in Dayton for several years.

Now and again efforts have been made to get the people together to stamp out the feud spirit that prevailed.

The party not in power always sets itself to making life uncomfortable for those who are in office. Partisan newspapers take up the cry, and all the time the expense goes on and the people pay the bills. In Nineteen Hundred Twelve an effort was made to secure a new civic charter that would put city affairs on a common sense basis, but it was not until after the flood that party lines were sufficiently washed out to eliminate the professional politician. On May Twenty fifth, exactly two months after the flood, the city was cleaned up and was in a more sanitary condition than it had been before the flood—

Outhouses have been done away with, cellars had been flooded and fumigated, and the bacteria, dirt and refuse eliminated from a thousand corners where they had accumulated. Martial law backed up by science had worked a wondrous change. The enemies of a commission form of government had been given an example of what a few strong, earnest business men could do when banded together for a common purpose, in welding the city into a bond of brotherhood.

One job having been completed, the people sighed for other jobs to conquer. They got together and subscribed two million dollars to put into working order a scientific plan to prevent a repetition of the flood.

The next endeavor was to get the very strongest man avail-

able as City Manager. Some of the men wanted could not be secured and many of the applicants for the job were not desirable

In cities where the Commissioner is elected by the people, there is apt to be a duplication of the old-time conditions. The man elected is chosen because he is popular, has a pull, is an orator, and has a way of kissing the babies and paying pretty compliments to the ladies, passing out promises.

Dayton elected five Commissioners. These men are practical business men—four are merchants and one a printer. All are practical, simple, hard-working, level-headed men—

The first business of these men was to choose a City Manager. The choice finally fell on Henry M. Waite of Cincinnati.

Waite has decision, intellect, physical strength, sincerity, simplicity. With it all he has a saving sense of humor. He is not a partisan. He does not have to get even with enemies nor reward friends. The fact that he comes from outside of Dayton is also greatly to his advantage and benefit. He picks up the duties of the situation exactly as if it were a great factory or department-store.

Waite has the distribution of one million two hundred thousand dollars, which are expended in city affairs each year.

From present indications he will cut down the cost of running the government fully twenty-five per cent. and give, in addition, fully twenty-five per cent better service than the city has ever seen. The commission form of government has never been the success that its advocates expected, for the simple reason that the commissioner, no matter how strong and worthy, was not backed up by a body representing the will of the best people.

In order to get a fire-class government every individual governed must take a hearty interest in the affairs pertaining not only to his own well-being, but to every one else—This lack of support is a fatal thing in the commission form of government—Usually there has been a Board of Trade, a Chamber of Commerce, an Advertising Club, or some other sort of boosting organization, back of the commission—The membership in a Chamber of Commerce in a City of one hundred thousand inhabitants is usually about three or four hundred men. These are the business men of the town. I know of several cities where the population is over three hundred thousand and the membership

in the Board of Trade or Chamber of Commerce is under one thousand men—

A municipal manager without an organized, intelligent body of citizens behind him would be like a general without an army. The business of the City Manager is technical. He deals with finance, law, real estate, engineering and the police and fire departments. But back of him is The Greater Dayton Association, which is a permanent institution, untouched by politics or denominationalism. The Commissioners themselves receive an insignificant compensation, and of course members of the Greater Dayton Association are not on the payroll. Theirs is the sweet privilege of paying, not of being paid.

Any government that is not electrified with the spirit of humanity is a cold, lifeless, tyrannical, parasitic thing. Good government should spring out of the hearts of the people. Liberty in its widest sense should be their sweet privilege. Spying on their personal affairs should be eliminated. To look after the needs of others requires a man with great faith in the infinite Intelligence, great faith in humanity, great patience, great forbearance.

Dogmatism, which is the mother of tyranny, springs out of a belief that we are right and others wrong. The real fact is men are not good or bad—they are good and bad.

All government should be on a friendly basis, animated by the actinic ray of intellect, flavored by love. Service is the one big thing.

CITY MANAGER PLAN LIKELY TO FAIL.

(Frank D. Stringham, City Attorney, Berkeley, Calif)

I believe that the City Manager Plan will meet with success and chiefly in small cities, but that it will often be a failure under present conditions and for the following reasons:

First: Because localities are opposed to the employment of strangers whenever home talent is ready and willing to take the position. There are as many men who think they would make good mayors as there are doctors who think they would make good school directors. It is this same provincialism that moves chambers of commerce to resent the purchase of municipal supplies from competitive dealers in neighboring cities.

Second: There is no class of qualified city managers to draw from. The obvious answer to this is that the demand

will soon create a supply. It is true that the city manager plan should not be condemned if it is for this reason more or less of a failure at the start. But we must know that the voting public is more or less fickle at all times; that of necessity the profession of city manager will be a migratory one. Will the pay be sufficient to attract the best men to it?

Third: The council will control his appointments. This I think is the chief objection to the plan. It adheres to all systems, and even this control may be better than the tendency to leave the appointments to the disposal of four or five heads of departments.

Fourth: There is a feeling which has grown up among American municipalities that their employees have a sort of vested right in their positions. Charters provide that their officers and employees cannot be removed without trial, and this is true of even appointive positions. The recall does not effectively cure this defect, because it affects certain officers only and because also it is cumbersome, expensive, and subject to grave abuses.

I do not want to be understood in making any criticism that I am opposed to the city manager plan or that I do not think it will work in large cities, but I think it should start in small cities and that the large cities should go slow. There are grave objections to the adoption of the city manager form of government in large cities, because it will not work practically as you expect it will.

TRAINING CITY MANAGERS.

(Chas. W West, at meeting of Commonwealth Club, San Francisco, Calif.)

This subject is exceedingly interesting from many points of view. I have been cherishing an ideal in respect to that branch of government to which I am attached, and it leads to this logical result, that we ought to have a government in the state which should progress by promotion from the lowest official to the Governor upward in the same class of duties. For instance, if we had the city manager plan thruout the state, it is plain * * * that there would be a general procession of efficient executives from the lowest to the highest cities in the state, and we would have efficient government. It happened that at the beginning of my association with the Civil Service

Commission I went with my colleagues to the president of the state university and urged upon him the formation of a college of civics. He said: "It is a very easy matter to have a college of civics to train people to be sheriffs, or good recorders, or good mayors, provided the graduates of that college would have an opportunity to fill any position after they were graduated. But in practical life the man who is trained for these positions has not any possible chance of filling them except by an extraordinary exception to the usual course of events.

"We have about 250 high schools in the State of California, and we therefore have a career for high school principals. We know that if we graduate people from the college in the University of California that has to do with high school principals, they will probably find positions. In fact we have positions for people as fast as we turn them out. So if you can have a career open for graduates of a college of civics, the University will be glad to train men for those positions, and until the people of the United States unite to such an extent as to have public opinion demand trained men for public positions, you will not have them."

We may debate here and we may believe that the city manager plan is the proper plan, and that it will produce efficiency, but as long as the people of California, or the people of San Francisco, are controlled by influences which are political, which are brought about by the popularity of candidates or because of antagonisms, or because of doing their duty conscientiously, you will not have efficient government. For instance, some of the local supervisors were not in favor of granting pensions to people who were not entitled to them, and therefore they got unpopular and lost votes and could not be elected. In my opinion, as one who has had something to do with political affairs from my youth up, the greatest difficulty in public affairs is to get a man in public office in an administrative capacity who can stand up against the politician, or being in public office does not himself become a politician, and yield to the temptation to become a great statesman by building up a great machine, and then destroying himself and the government with which he is associated. To be a statesman is a big job; to be the big man in public office is a big job. It needs judgment, it needs tact, it needs devotion to principles, and it needs a lot of luck. One of our presidents said that he had to be a politician in order to be a statesman, and he told a funda-

mental truth. For that reason we ought to feel that the most important thing is to get trained men for public officials; and unless we do get trained men we do not get efficiency. And in order to get trained men we need a college of civics in our great university.

THE REAL DIFFICULTY.

(Wm. J. Dutton, San Francisco, Calif.)

* * * In my judgment if we should get a city manager and a set of commissioners who selected a city manager merely for his ability, and he carried out his work just as the president and officers of a corporation carry out their work, for economy and without regard to the feelings or desires of those who were not getting financial benefit from it, we should very soon find that the man who did his duty rigidly would have a job put up on him just as possibly some of our supervisors have. We should find that other men would be elected because they had the backing of men who wanted to get contracts with the city on terms that these parties should not give them; others who had influence enough and political sagacity enough to build up a system which would furnish a majority of votes. There would be enough men and women who did not have any lively interest in what was going on and would neglect voting to enable the wrong element to defeat those who had been working hard and conscientiously for the benefit of the city. There is the trouble. If we can only find some way to enlighten the people, to make the people feel that they want to assist in seeing that the office seeks the man, this plan would work beautifully. I do not know how in the world you are going to do it under our present system.

Dr. James of the University of Texas, one of the chief advocates of the city manager plan, admits: "If a community is hopelessly boss-ridden, the city manager would be the tool of the boss." Elbert Hubbard, an advocate of the city manager plan, says: "A municipal manager without an organized, intelligent body of citizens behind him would be like a general without an army."

Geo. B. Haris, Cleveland, O.: "People of the working class are opposed to efficiency. Democracy is opposed to efficiency, that is the price we pay for our democratic freedom."

"People want a government that will cater to their whims and give them what they want."

OBJECTIONS OF LABOR TO THE DAYTON CHARTER.

Whereas, the City of Dayton will hold on May 20, 1913, a special election to choose fifteen charter commissioners to draft a new charter for the city; and
Association, and in fact all the organized money interests of the city are actively advocating the so called City Manager form of municipal government; and

Whereas, the method of selecting these candidates was automatic (autocratic?) and the reverse of democratic, and the candidates were selected absolutely by the Chamber of Commerce without consulting the wishes of organized labor or the working class in general; and

Whereas, we recognize in this City Manager Plan a conspiracy to overthrow the liberties of the people and place the city government in the hands of the Chamber of Commerce and the big business interests, as has been proved by the history of commission government in other cities; and

Whereas, we recognize in the "non-partisan" feature of the plan an attempt to increase the cost of running for public office and to make it practically impossible for a working man to obtain public office except with the support of the employing class and

Whereas, the income of the city in the past has been inadequate, owing to the giving away of valuable public franchises to private corporations and the rebuilding of the city will require a greatly increased revenue, and the City Manager program includes no plan for raising this outside of bond issues as in the past; and in fact their whole appeal is based upon the personal popularity and glory of individuals who became prominent during our recent disaster with which they seek to dazzle and blind the workers to the fact that while they share in none of the glory, the workers themselves must in the end rebuild the city and bear the financial burden as well; therefore

Be It Resolved, That we, the United Trades and Labor Council of Dayton, most emphatically condemn the City Manager Plan as being hostile to the interests of the organized workers and the working class in general, for the following reasons:

1. The City Manager Plan comprehends the concentration of both administrative and legislative power in the hands of three men—to this we object.

2. The underlying principle of the City manager plan is distrust of the people.

3. We firmly believe that the mayor should be the chief executive officer of a municipality and that he should be elected directly by the people.

4. The City Manager Plan almost wholly eliminates the possibility of minority representation which in our judgment is a fatal mistake.

5. The City Manager Plan provides that the commission shall appoint the Civil Service Commission—this is not only objectionable but unjust, giving the appointive power absolute control of the civil service board.

6. It is built upon an idea imported from a country village, its leading advocates are imported hirelings of unknown interest, it is possible under this plan to import a full corps of city officials from some other city, under the guise of trained administrators.

7. It can and will lead to the grossest kind of extravagance; no one knows what it will cost our tax-payers and working people.

8. It is certain to bring into operation a brand of politics more vicious than what we have ever had, which will result in a manager being selected who could not possibly be elected by a majority of votes of the people.

9. We do not believe in the importing of Professional Promoters to select a plan or men to run our city.

Be It Further Resolved, That all delegates from organizations affiliated with the United Trades and Labor Council report this action back to their respective organizations, and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to all the newspapers of this city with the request that they publish them in full.

The United Trades and Labor Council endorses all candidates who carry a union card on condition that if elected they agree to support the principles embodied in the United Trades and Labor Council constitution in drafting a new charter for the city of Dayton.

"A THOUGHT PROVOKING STATEMENT."

Wm. Dudley Foulke

At Toronto Meeting of National Municipal League

It seems to me that this entire question of the preference of one system over the other is a question of the adaptability of the particular form to the political status of the different cities to which they are to be applied. I take it that in the

end the municipal manager will be found the one best adapted to cities in a general way. But when it comes to applying it now to cities which have been accustomed to political methods, and are still subject to boss rule, I am inclined to believe it might be very injurious.

This is a kind reform we should not hurry too much; we ought to await developments, and I am very glad that the city manager plan has been preceded by the commission form of government, and that over 300 cities have already adopted that form. This will do a great work in eliminating the boss systems by which our municipalities in the U. S. have so largely been controlled. It will thereby lead public opinion to regard city government more and more as largely business affairs and to be administered if not entirely upon business principles, at least upon principles of common decency and morality. After they have reached that state and after politics in its worst form has become eliminated, it is time for the city manager system to be applied.

For the present, however, if you apply that system, I can see what the result will often be, that it may not be an improvement on the commission plan, but will be even worse than the old plan by which we have been governed. I think I can see the man who has been our mayor for a great many years, altho we now have got him out. I think we know exactly how Doc Zimmerman would act if the city manager plan were put on in the city of Richmond. He would lay his plans for the place before the election—the place, not of mayor, but of city manager, and he would have his slate of five commissioners who would go in and vote for him, and he would get men who were personally popular and knew how to pull the ropes. His skill as a politician is much better than that of the men who would oppose him. He would have his five men who would vote for him, and the issue before the election would be, "Are we to have Doc Zimmerman for manager or not."

It is far better to vote for a man directly instead of indirectly, as we have done in the election of United States senators and in the election of the president of the United States. When the constitution was adopted it was considered that the best way was not to have the whole body of the people vote, but to have a selected body or college who would meet and find out by some means—by the inspiration of the spirit or something—who was the best man to become President of the United States; the

people could not be trusted to do that work. It was the same way in electing senators—not to trust the whole body of the people, but to have the legislature think the thing over and choose the man they wanted. But the people of the United States have now determined by constitutional amendment that it is better for the people to choose by direct election than by this indirect method which confuses and obscures the issues and often degrades the electoral bodies and makes mere dummies out of the men who compose them. That would be the result in cities still subject to the political usages which now prevail in many parts of the country. Therefore it would be a very bad thing for the National Municipal League to recommend the immediate adoption of a system like that to places that are not ready for it.

Let all cities that are ripe for business administration, all cities that have abolished political ideas in their city government—let them take the city manager plan. But for those who do not yet know how to get rid of bosses, I think it would be a dangerous experiment.

Suppose instead of calling him the city manager, you call him the city boss; you can see how the plan would work out in a community not habituated to a manager, but to a boss. So let us go slow.

“How many things by season seasoned are
To their right praise and true perfection!”

There is a doubt as to whether the manager system has yet been tried far enough for us to express a definite opinion as to whether it is yet preferable everywhere to the other system, tho I believe this will ultimately be the case.

CITY MANAGER NOT COMMISSION GOVERNMENT

Ernest S. Bradford

Greater unity in city government, which is coming to be demanded in some commission-governed cities, can best be secured by giving the mayor more power than the other commissioners, thus placing him in the position to properly co-ordinate the activities of all departments and to compel, if necessary, unity of action. This is in line with previous recommendations of the National Municipal League, which has favored a strong mayor. It is doubtful whether the idea should be carried as far as it is applied in Houston, Texas, but it may be desirable to

experiment in this direction. The mayor would, in this case, become the managing and directing force of the city.

The city manager plan departs in several respects from commission government lines, and it is doubtful whether it should be classed as a mere variation of commission government rather than a brand new plan. It contemplates, we are told, the election of a commission unpaid, or receiving only nominal salaries. Most commissioners are paid, under the commission form, some well paid; many devote their entire time to city affairs.

The city manager plan permits elections by wards. Every commission-governed city so far has abandoned wards.

The city manager plan should be tried and the results secured under its operation impartially examined; but it should not be classed under the head of the commission form until it is very clear that it substantially agrees with the important features of that form. The same credentials should be required of this new plan as were held necessary in the case of the commission form, i. e., evidence that under it municipal conditions are better than they were under the aldermanic form; and in addition, the evidence should be clear that the city manager plan is superior to the commission form, before the latter, now tested for ten years and more, is relinquished for a new and untried type of government.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE CITY MANAGER PLAN

H. A. Toulmin

In "The City Manager," D. Appleton & Co.

Good men can be found in any city to run it, is the traditional maxim of local politics. Such is the argument in opposition to the new plan. And this may be quite true so far as ability is concerned. There is inevitably a radical advantage in having a man of ability coupled with a mind fresh to a new situation, keen to grasp the original problems, and open to persuasion, unshackled as he is by the fetters of tradition and old ideals. No clique or party or political organization or reform movement would have any predominant claim upon him. Long-continued influence of an environment will inevitably have a profound hold on any man, and this provision affords opportunity to avoid the evil consequences of it.

It must be understood, nevertheless, that the selection of a man outside the city is permissible and not necessary; the pro-

vision is for the sake of securing the best without handicap. Opponents of the plan claim that it is too novel and adventurous an idea, foreign in character and unadaptable to American conditions, and therefore a plan of failure and disaster and ominous consequences. Again, the elections at large will be the means of slighting special localities and favoring others unduly, while the old method of having a section or ward represented by a special resident of that district insured protection for his ward and equal share in all good things. The history of the ward system presents to this proposition an embarrassing counter-argument; the long years of corruption and "log-rolling" for special favors by each councilman, and the disheartening lack of results would even justify a more desperate defense than this salutary remedy of general elections. It is suggested that the salaries are too high and that talent sufficient for the duties can be had at much lower rates. If time proves that economy is effected by employing high-salaried men, and it will not take a great while to determine it, then this argument will be relegated to the company of its predecessors. So run arguments and counter arguments.

WHERE IT WON'T WORK

Geo. W. Knox, Niagara Falls

The city manager form of government will fit all cities large and small; it will not fit a machine controlled city, and neither will any other form of government. If the people of the city have no more public spirit than to permit it to be machine controlled, they will get under any form of government just what they are entitled to—to wit, the worst of it. Give me a political machine comprised of men with nerve enough and I will guarantee under the city manager form of government to subject a city to a strong arm game that would make the Den of Forty Thieves look like a Methodist prayer meeting in comparison. This is assuming that the electorate of the city is subservient enough to stand for the machine. The advantage of the commission form of government or the city manager form of government is its simplicity, its directness and the fact that it makes corruption or inefficiency on the part of any particular official conspicuous. But it avails nothing to have these things conspicuous if the people simply ignore them or confine themselves to ~~rambling about them~~. The city manager plan to be successful must have a wide-awake, public-spirited electorate.

QUALIFICATIONS OF A CITY MANAGER

What you want for a city manager, is a manager, a man who has brains enuff to hire a corporation counsel, a city engineer, a health physician, a man who is big enuff to lay his resignation on the city council table at any time and go out and get another job, so that he need not be afraid of losing his job as city manager. He must be economical and a good business man. He must have tact. He must meet the people of the city in a way to please them. He must be broad enuf to understand that merely keeping money in the city treasury or getting a dollar's return for a dollar's outlay is not all there is to running a city. The social conditions must be kept right. People must be kept satisfied. He must meet criticism smiling'y and courteously. He must know how to deny a favor without offending and he must be able to grant a favor without making the recipient feel that it is granted grudgingly, and unless a manager can do these things the management will not be successful or popular, nor will it last, no matter what may be its economical virtues. I am afraid that the saying: "We must run our cities as we run our business" has been taken too literally. We certainly should do that, but we must do something more. The manager who cannot do that something more will not succeed. He must get the average citizen working and participating directly in the running of the city. A council or manager who does not encourage the active participation of the democracy will have a job on hand which cannot be successfully performed.

—From *Minnesota Municipalities*, Feb., 1918.

THE CITY MANAGER'S TROUBLES.

Literary Digest, May 8, 1918.

One trouble with running a town on a purely business basis would seem to be that the townspeople—or many of them—do not fancy the idea. They are used to the showy and superficial performances of the professional politician, and the more sober but more solid achievements of the engineer-manager do not impress them. They regard the city administration as a kind of show, and they demand plenty of music and dancing, without sound logic and philosophy. At least this is what we gather from a resume of the papers read at the first convention of city managers at Springfield, Ohio, published in **Engineering**

and Contracting (Chicago). The commission-manager form of government has now been in effect in several cities long enough to bring to light some of the obstacles to its complete success. The first step in overcoming obstacles is to recognize them, and the papers alluded to above serve to bring out some of the initial difficulties encountered both by the form of government and by the city manager as its most important official. Of these we read:

"The greatest difficulty seems to arise from the impatience of the public with reform administrations unless more or less spectacular reforms are quickly brought about. The tendency of the people to revert to conservatism after a short season of extreme radicalism is a phenomenon often witnessed both in national and local politics. When the average man goes in for reform of any kind he expects almost immediate results. Immediate results can seldom be shown, for time is consumed in the learning of duties pertaining to position, and in the perfecting of plans and legislation.

"The best way to quiet the impatient critic is to let him know what is going on. He will seldom remain unreasonable longer than he remains uninformed. The cooperation of citizens must be secured, and this can be effected only by a carefully planned publicity scheme. The good-will of newspapers must be sought in all legitimate ways, and matter for publication in them should be prepared by a properly qualified representative of the administration. Talks before local societies and clubs are also effective measures to be employed in this connection.

"Another and very serious difficulty arises from the pernicious activities of the politicians who were relegated to private life by the establishing of the new form of government. These men are hard and efficient workers in their own behalf, and their interests are wholly opposed to those of the officials of the commission-manager administration. They make it their business to misrepresent things and in every way possible seek to reflect discredit on the administration. The activities of this element must be equaled by those of the officials, who, if competent to perform their duties and diligent in their publicity measures, can offset untruth with truth."

"Another obstacle is the traditional belief that in working for a city the employee is justified in rendering the inefficient service. This obstacle is quickly surmounted by a firm but judicious exercise of the right to discharge the incompetent."

Turning directly to the city manager as virtually the chief official of the town, the writer finds that his lot is a hard one, particularly in the early months, and the smaller his city the harder his job, for his problems are as difficult to solve, and he has less competent help. Great sums of money are usually

more easily secured in a large city than are the much smaller sums expended by the small cities. Improvements costing hundreds of thousands seldom present more engineering difficulties than work constructed on a smaller scale. The reviewer goes on to say:

"In a small city the manager must train his assistants. He cannot get them in any other way on account of the necessity of keeping down salaries. The number of assistants he can employ must necessarily be small, and the result is that he must personally give his attention to many matters of detail. Many of the latter are exceedingly trivial, but they must be attended to or the manager will be criticized for lack of attention to his duties. One such manager says that while studying a vexing question of law-enforcement an urgent call for help will come to him on account of a stopt sewer. This is merely a suggestion of how the manager of a small city must jump from one thing to another throughout the day.

"The theoretical qualifications of the successful city manager have been well emphasized. It has been said that he must have engineering and legal knowledge, a knowledge of business procedure, executive ability, and a judicial mind. It should be borne in mind, however, that in addition to these qualifications the successful city manager must also be a man of even temper and one who is fearless in the face of criticism and not oversensitive about it. Again, may it be said, the additional qualifications mentioned are especially desirable in managers of small cities.

"The same speaker previously mentioned said that he had done some hard work during fifteen years of engineering before becoming a city manager. This was especially true when he was working in the tropics, handicapped by a strange language, inexperienced labor, an enervating climate, and long hours of work. Added to these impediments were the responsibility of the work and the necessity of keeping the cost at a minimum. 'But,' he said, 'I never held a position requiring such an outlay of energy, patience, and varied accomplishments as does the one of city manager.'

"The commission form of government, as a general proposition, seems to have caught the public fancy, and it is spreading rapidly. Doubtless many engineers will be offered positions as city managers. For their own good and for the good of a movement which is deserving of success they are cautioned to examine themselves as to their possession of the requisite qualifications before accepting positions of this character. Many men possess all the mental qualifications but lack the temperamental. Their success as a city manager would therefore be highly problematical."

A MINORITY REPORT.

New Rochelle, N. Y.

A committee of five was appointed to investigate new features of municipal government. Three of the committee reported in favor of the City Manager Plan. The other two reported against it as follows:

We, the undersigned, beg to report that we have been unable to concur with the majority members of the Committee on Charter in their finding that the city of New Rochelle needs a radical change in its form of government, and that what is known as the City Manager Plan should be adopted.

The most important claims for the advantages of the City Manager Plan are that politics will be largely eliminated in Municipal Government, and that trained men will be the chief executives rather than men of no experience, elected by the people at rather short intervals. The burden of proving that these advantages exist in this form of government is clearly upon those who propose it, and they must establish with at least a reasonable degree of certainty that this new plan is better than our present form.

As far as eliminating politics is concerned, we are convinced that no such thing will occur under any plan of government, for no law or system can change human nature, and we believe that the various political parties in New Rochelle will continue to exert their influence upon the city's affairs irrespective of the form of government.

As to the claim that trained executives will, under this proposed form, take the place of inexperienced officials; the question naturally arises at once as to where these trained officials are to come from. And in view of the fact that up to June 1st of this year (1914) there were but 19 cities in the entire country which had adopted this plan, and that of these 9 had a population of less than 5,000, and 14 a population of less than 10,000, it is quite apparent that the number of trained executives is quite limited, and it, therefore, follows that if we wish to have one of these trained executives in New Rochelle, we will be compelled to train him ourselves.

We understand it to be the sense of the majority of the committee that the City Manager may be chosen from anywhere in the world. In this connection it should be borne in mind that the management of a city is after all not a purely business matter. The municipality is not engaged in business for pecuniary profit. There are many questions affecting the city's welfare which should not be approached and are not approached with the single idea of business advantage.

The City Manager form is but a development of the Commission idea and the parent plan has not been found by any means an unmixt blessing to those cities where it has been adopted. Galveston and Denver are notable examples of cities where there is bitter denunciation of the plan by a very large number of the citizens.

Even the students of civic questions who are naturally prone to adopt progressiv ideas are by no means agreed that either the commission form or the city manager development of this form is desirable for all cities, and under all circumstances. So high an authority as Charles W. Elliott, former president of Harvard University, stated that in his opinion the city manager plan up to the present time is largely an experiment and one which should not be adopted hurriedly.

In all sessions of the committee it was generally admitted by the members that our present form of government is by no means bad and no arguments were advanced to show that we cannot attain an even better administration of our affairs under the present form. None would get better executives that the city has already had in the persons of the mayors.

It is, therefore, our conclusion that the City Manager Plan being merely an experiment, and conditions in New Rochelle being as good as they are at present, it would be extremely unwise for us, at this time at any rate, to make a radical change.

THE CITY MANAGER PLAN.

The Christian Science Monitor.

The City Manager Plan throws over the last semblance of representative government, which the Commission has carried along in a modified degree. It retains the people no other control over their home government than comes thru the exercise of the recall. It disposes of all the checks and balances that have been held essential to security against the mistaken judgment or the worst failure of strictly individual government. It stands for the extreme of reaction against the legislative and executive division which in its full form is agreed not to be suited to municipal affairs. And it is to be accepted with some caution for that, if for no other reason.

Only a few widely scattered small cities have yet resorted to the single manager and their experience is not a conspicuous support of the claims in itself. Quite recently Dayton, O., has adopted it and it may contribute a better proof that there is merit in it. Because it puts all responsibility in the hands of one man and reduces accountability to that of the single agent to the whole body of the city's people, it seems to presuppose a watchfulness that has not been markt in the general public up to this time. It discards the principle that conferences and counseling are necessary to the settlement of right lines of conduct. In a word, it makes city government completely non-representative and puts all the trust in personality—not a course that common human experience has yet shown to be prudent or even safe.

CONDENSED PARAGRAPHS.

"If you see a noble cause, Help it on, help it on."

If you don't want a city run on business principles, what kind of principles do you want it run on?

No city manager city has yet returned to the old mayor-council plan; that is significant at least. Very few cities that once break away from the old plan ever return to it.

Practically all the cities which have tried the city manager plan commend it; those who oppose it haven't tried it. Is it hard to tell which testimony should be believed?

The negative desire municipal progress. It opposes the city manager plan because it will not bring progress. The affirmative seem to think that because anything progressive is new, therefore anything new is progressive.

Many of our greatest authorities on municipal matters say that the city manager plan is destined to be adopted by all our American cities, so we advise the negative to get on the band wagon with us and help on the great reform.

The practical question is not: "Is the City Manager Plan perfect;" but "is it better than the other plans so far as tried." To argue that we shall have no government unless it is perfect is to argue for anarchy. Let us hold the discussion to the real issue.

In administrative work it is not numbers that count but quality. One man who knows, can do better than a thousand who do not know how things should be done. One capable manager could give the city better service than any five ordinary commissioners.

The city manager plan will benefit the masses of the people; it will benefit all except a few to whom city government chiefly means opportunities of boodling. And it will in reality benefit them by destroying their graft and compelling them to make an honest living.

A country cannot exist half autocracy and half democracy. If all our towns and cities became autocratic in government we would have just that condition. And since the towns can easily dominate the country how long would it be before our whole government was autocratic?

Everyone knows that the average American city is a disgrace, yet when we propose means of improvement here come a horde of moss-backs, old fogies, and bourbons who tell us it

cant be done, in spite of the fact that it is being done and successfully done in scores of cities.

Why do the opponents of civic reform use the term "City business" if it isn't business? Why don't they call it what they want to make it;—city boodling, city corruption, or city rot? Let them come out in the open and advocate the inevitable results of national politics in city affairs.

The testimony is practically unanimous that the city manager plan will not and cannot work where national politics are not absolutely banisht from municipal affairs. To advocate the city manager form of municipal government is to advocate the elimination of national politics from city elections.

The national government in Germany is autocratic, but the cities are freer than they are in this country. Here our legislatures interfere infinitely more with city governments than the government does in Germany. Their cities are more democratic than ours. The city manager is a democratic institution.

The chief official of every railroad is the general manager. Many railroad managers have a far more difficult job of managing than any city would be. We never hear of a railroad or any other great business which does not have a manager. There is no earthly reason why a city should not do the same thing.

It is not claimd that those who favor the city manager plan are consciously and knowingly playing into the hands of autocracy. The trouble is that their views are one-sided; they are so intent on "efficiency" that they blindly adopt any expedient which promises that, regardless of what other evils it may involve.

Under the commission form of city government the commissioners often disagree and work at cross purposes; often opposing and defeating each other's policies. Under the city manager plan a majority of the commission rule, pass the laws, elect the manager, etc. They work as a unit, the city manager executes their will.

The city manager is an attempt to legalize the boss. It is a proposal that democracy should give up its fight against autocracy and make the best terms it can with it. We are not ready to do that yet. In fact democracy is everywhere on the gain and has not the remotest notion of giving up to autocracy in any form.

Some of the strongest advocates of the City Manager Plan freely admit that in a town dominated by a boss or a gang, the

City Manager Plan would not only be a failure but positively dangerous. It would greatly increase the corrupt power of the foes of civic life while stripping the community of its present safeguards.

The advocates of the city manager plan urge it as a business proposition. But it isn't a business proposition at all. It is a political proposition. It is a government proposal; a plan for governing a city. This is one of the fallacies of the affirmative. They ignore the political nature of the proposal entirely and ask us to.

They object to trying the city manager system because it is new, as tho newness was a heinous crime. Everything has to be new sometime; the oldest things were new once. The sensible question is not how new it is, but how reasonable, how practicable, how well adapted to existing conditions. This objection is a mere pretext.

Under the city manager plan, all the legislative powers of the city are vested in the commission; the manager has nothing to do with ordinances or laws. The commission makes ordinances and rules and employs the manager to enforce them, and if he doesn't do it they remove him. Talk about a manager being a boss is silly rot.

Practically every progressive city has abandoned the old mayor and council plan. Those that havent either have no business to do, or they are dominated by politicians who wont let it be done unless they get a "rake off." A so-called city which lives the old way is merely an aggregation of people; it is in no sense an organized city.

It is admitted on all hands that the City Manager Plan will not work unless politics are eliminated completely from municipal government. Now it is a plain fact that the majority do not wish to have politics eliminated from city affairs. How many towns are there that do not run national party tickets at every municipal election?

But the city manager plan not only eliminates national politics from municipal politics, but it has provd to to be the most efficient form of municipal government ever tried in this or any other country. We have the same story from everywhere, the greatest foe to the city manager plan is the politician who finds himself set aside.

What does city management exist for? Is it not to serve the people; to give them the utmost service for the taxes raised?

The negative talk as tho we had city government in order to help elect presidents, to further the ambitions of politicians, or feather the nests of boodlers. Every good citizen wishes to get away from such conditions.

The business of a city includes several different departments, each requiring a different kind of ability and qualifications. The legal department requires a lawyer; the health department requires a doctor, the drainage department requires an engineer, etc. The attempt to combine all there in one man is an utter absurdity on the face of it.

The old mayor and council plan prostituted the city government to partizan or selfish ends. Under the commission plan rivalries of officials have brought confusion and paralysis of municipal service. The commission-manager plan unites the best features of both and creates a system which far surpasses anything else which has yet been suggested.

Hundreds of the most enterprising cities have adopted the commission form of government. But it has revealed defects. The commissioners are seldom harmonious, and there has been found no way to organize them so they will be. The city manager plan has grown out of efforts to remedy these defects, and the universal testimony is that it does it.

Under the Commission Plan each commissioner takes a part of the work, and so the different departments become rivals instead of cooperating. Every department is handicapt by the opposition of other departments; there is seldom team work. The inventors of the Commission Plan overlookt human nature, and that is something we can never afford to do.

The aim of the City Manager Plan is: "The greatest and best amount of service for the money;" and the only known way to get this is the method adopted by business organizations the world over. The aggregate experience of business is tremendous, unlimited almost. The City Manager Plan simply applies to city business the experience of all other business.

Advocates of the city manager plan hope that it would enable us to elect better men to administrative positions. We could do that now if we would. It is useless to expect that people can be recreant to their duties at the ballot box and still enjoy the blessings of a free government. Let us learn to elect good men first, then we can give them more power.

A democracy means a government where the will of the people rules, and the degree of a democracy is the degree to which

the people can get their will executed. Judged by this standard, the city manager plan is the only really democratic method of city government there is, for it is the only form of municipal government where the people can really enforce their will.

The affirmative assume that the people want good government. The evident fact is that they do not. Doubtless there are a few who would like to have honest, efficient government; but the great majority are selfish. They desire a government that will minister to their selfish interests whether it benefits the public or not. Nothing can be gained by ignoring plain facts.

Under the commission form of city government there are three or more commissioners who are supposed to give all their time to the city each one in a different department. Tho they are usually high priced men and have to be paid for all their time, as a matter of fact all their time is not required. A capable city manager could do the work of all of them for only one salary.

There are lots of good things that people might have if they were only good enuf. They are not willing to pay the price. We cannot have an ideal city government without ideal people; that is perfectly self evident. We have a constitution and laws not so much to guide the good people as to restrain the bad. Our political institutions must be adapted to the people as they are.

It is claimed that national politics in municipal elections is necessary in order to keep up national party organizations. It may help "keep up" local party organizations but at the same time it does more than all other things combined to corrupt national politics. Every intelligent patriot should favor the complete divorcement of national and local politics for this reason alone.

Why should any honest man oppose running city business on business principles? What do we mean by "business principles?" We mean honesty, efficiency, equivalence. We mean getting what we pay for. We mean getting what we need in order to live healthfully, happily, and successfully. Why should any business not be done on business principles? And city business most of all?

It is simply astounding that we should have to debate such a question as this; that there should be any objection to the city manager plan. Why should people oppose their own best interests, and the best interests of their communities? It is hard

enuf to achieve progress at best; there are natural difficulties enuf. The opposition to city management make difficulties where there need be none.

With the complete divorcement of national and local politics the rottenness of a city is confined to itself; but when the two are combined the entire state and nation must suffer from the corruption of the large cities, the moral level of the whole country is lowered. The entire separation of national and local politics is one of the most urgent political needs of our country. The City Manager Plan will do it.

Everybody with sense enuf to keep out of the asylum knows that national politics have no place in municipal affairs. Of course those who wish to get corrupt advantages and do not dare to publish their real reasons favor national politics as a cover for their selfish schemes, but even they know as well as any that the introduction of national politics into city government is a monstrous absurdity.

We have heard of the child who wisht to eat its cake and at the same time keep it. The affirmative are worse than that. They wish to keep their cake and not only eat it themselves but let the politician eat it at the same time. They want to get efficiency and economy in the management of civic affairs, but at the same time they want to live off the city themselves, and let the city politicians grow fat on it.

It is claimed that our municipal government is inefficient, costly, and generally unsatisfactory. The remedy is not to abandon democracy in municipal affairs. We need a revival of civic righteousness, of civic loyalty, of civic intelligence. The present plan would work if only the people would elect good men to office; we do not give the present plan a chance, and then blame it when it is not successful.

Under the city manager plan the commissioners elected by the people are responsible for all that is done or not done. If they are capable men they have their own private business to attend to and cannot give all their time to the city. They can hire a manager just as the directors of a business concern would, --a director who knows more about the business than they do, so the city would get the best possible service.

The negative say that we must not introduce the city manager plan until until after we have banisht national politics from our city elections. That is exactly the same as the celebrated advice; "Dont go near the water till you can swim". What

better way to do this than adopting a method of city government where local interests will be so emphasized that attempts to bring in outside matters will seem ridiculous.

The affirmative admits that we cannot make a success of the city manager plan unless municipal and national politics are separated; that is one reason why we advocate it. Adopt the city manager plan and you have made a clear issue of it. The voters must either see city management fail or lay aside national politics when they come to vote for city officers, and the practically universal experience is that they do the latter.

A city manager would work all right in Heaven, with its paving system and water system, and select inhabitants, and the entire absence of politics and corruption. It might even work well in Hell, for it would be in harmony with the auto, cracy there and it is said to work well in Germany. But the question does not refer to those places. It refers only to our common, everyday cities of 5,000 people or more.

Practically everybody admits that national politics should be entirely eliminated from municipal affairs, but how can it be done? How shall we go about it? What other way is possible but to adopt a method of city government that national politics cannot work with? What way could be easier? That is one reason why we advocate the city manager plan; it eliminates national politics from municipal government.

American cities have long been a disgrace not only to our country but to civilization itself. The boodling, the defiant corruption of New York, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Boston, etc., has never been equaled in either the civilized or the uncivilized world. Our cities are the despair of civilization. And it is every bit due to mixing national politics in local government. The city manager plan will make an end of this.

The ring politicians claim that because the public does not succeed in sending them all to the penitentiary, therefore it indorses them, and wants to be robbed and cheated by those who are paid to serve it. It is beyond controversy that the chief objections to the city manager plan come from those who profit by the inefficiency and corruptness of municipal government. They oppose anything that promises to eliminate them.

It is claimed that the city manager will eliminate politics and favoritism and inefficiency of all kinds. This is absurd. The city manager is to be elected by the commissioners. Suppose one of the commissioners asks the manager to appoint a

friend or relative to an office the manager will have to do it or lose a vote for his own reelection. It is arrant nonsense to talk about the manager being independent of the commission.

They say that a corrupt government can misuse the city manager plan. Well, what is there that a corrupt government can't misuse? And if the people elect that kind of government they have no right to complain; they get what they vote for. But even if a corrupt government should misuse the city manager plan, the people would know exactly where to place the blame, and that is more than they can know under the old plan.

It is possible that there are a few timid souls who are afraid of anything new, who may honestly oppose the city manager plan; but just look at the company they keep! Is there a boddler, a corrupt machine politician, or man who makes his living by political chicanery who supports the city manager plan? Lined up against it is every enemy of the city, every foe to progress, every mossback, who wants to be in that kind of company?

It is very evident that most of the men who have been running our cities under the old plan will be opposed to the city manager plan, for it means nothing less than putting them clear out of business. If a change is to be made new men must come to the front and take hold of public affairs; business men and public spirited men and women who do not make money out of politics, but who do wish to make their city a better place to live.

The affirmative is putting the cart before the horse. They wish to put in a result which only a reform could make possible and try to make it a cause of reform. The cart is never going to pull the horse however it is fixed. Sufficient reform might make the city manager plan possible; but to ignore unfavorable political conditions, to introduce a reform measure without having the reform first is not a rational procedure. That is the negative position.

The simple, undeniable fact is, the people don't want non-partisan city government. And they are not going to give up partizan politics; they don't give it up even when they adopt the city manager plan. The simple proposition which the negative submit to the judges is that until they are ready to abandon national politics in city government the "City Manager Plan

should not be adopted in cities of 5000 inhabitants", or any other number of inhabitants.

Much of the negative argument applies only to small towns, but they are excluded from this debate. It is admitted that villages do not have work enuf to keep a manager busy nor money enuf to enable him to earn his salary. But in a growing town of 5,000 people there is plenty for a city manager to do and plenty of money for him to do with. It is only the large towns that are troubled with boodling; in small towns there isn't money enuf to bother with.

The policy of the city manager plan is to solve all our municipal evils by putting almost unlimited power into the hands of one man. Of course if this one man was a good, capable man the situation might be all right while he remained in office. But the situation would be correspondingly bad if the manager were a corrupt tool. It is certainly not safe to put too great power into the hands of any one man unless we the sure of the character of the man.

The affirmative wish us to adopt the city manager plan but they do not tell us where we can get city managers. Mr. Knox of Niagara Falls gives us a very interesting list of the qualifications needed by a city manager, but he doesn't tell us where such a man could be found. The fact is "there aint no such animal". Such a character as he describes never existed on this earth. What is the use, then, of adopting the city manager plan when we have no city managers?

It is admitted that the city manager plan will not work successfully unless the people take a vital and loyal interest in their municipal affairs. But every one knows that they do not do this. We must have a system that such indifference will not wreck. This is true of both the commission and the mayor and council plans. Those plans may not be perfect, but we cannot begin to have perfection until citizens take far more interest in their public affairs than they ever have.

One of the arguments urgd for the City Manager Plan is that it is substantially the German method of city management. Just now, at least, that does not commend it to Americans. Nobody in heaven or earth wants to imitate Germany in anything. The affirmative will be shouting "Hoch der Kaiser" next, for their city manager would be an autocrat, a sort of miniature Kaiser.

The fact that a plan works well in Germany, would, of itself, make it very doubtful if it would work here.

What do we mean by conducting city business on business principles? We mean, as Elbert Hubbard said, "Business must be carried on with simplicity, truth, directness, economy, to the end that employees and public shall prosper". Not a single suggestion of a reason can be given why city business should not be conducted in just that way. And more than that, the public is getting sorely out of patience with the mossbacks and boodlers who oppose doing public business that way.

Under the city manager plan the people have more control of their affairs than they do under the old mayor and council plan. Under the old plan the people could not tell who was to blame when their will was not executed. One of its chief characteristics was that it enabled the servants of the people to shift responsibility. Under the city manager, on the contrary, if the will of the people is not executed they know exactly who is to blame; there is no shifting of responsibility.

In most of our cities there is a constant struggle between the different wards and the different departments to get more than a just share of the public funds. Often so much is expended on a few departments in which some of the council are interested that there is nothing left for sanitation, and people die of typhoid fever, tuberculosis and other preventable diseases. Under the city manager plan each department has an equal show, and there is a well balanced administration.

Municipal business affects every home, every life within the city, and thousands of other lives who do business in it. Its inefficiency or corruption robs every life of something, and many lives of everything. It robs every citizen of part of the taxes he pays. It deprives every citizen of comforts, conveniences, necessities, of health and happiness. And yet when we propose to do city business on business principles we are met with twaddle about a city not being a business affair.

No law can change human nature. No city manager law can eliminate politics from city government. You have to eliminate politics from city government before you can have the city manager. The affirmative get the cart before the horse and try to convince us that that is progress, an up-to-date method of municipal government, etc. Human nature can annul any law that ever was made. We cannot make human nature to suit our laws; we must make our laws to suit human nature.

They say that the city manager would be independent. How could he be independent of the commission that appoints him and may remove him any day? If one of the men who gives him his job comes round and asks him to appoint a friend or relative to an office how is he going to refuse? Why should he lose his job when the commissioner elected by the people is the one really to blame? If the people wish that kind of men in office, it is evident that they wish that kind of service.

The question is, "Resolved that the City Manager system should be adopted, etc". We are not debating the question whether that is the best or not. Strictly speaking, we are not even debating its merits. We are simply debating whether it should be adopted or not. In this debate, then, the merits of the City Manager Plan are not one whit more important than the question as to its adaptedness to the conditions, the form of government, the political ideals and policies which prevail.

Who is it that is so afraid that the city manager will become a boss and the city controlled by anti-social elements? Look at them good. They are the very identical crowd that have always supported inefficiency, wasting public funds, and paying private debts with public money. They may camouflage themselves a little by putting respectable reactionaries in the lead; but they know exactly what they are about. They are really afraid of the city manager plan but not for the reasons they give.

But even if the city manager should occasionally be a paragon of administrative perfections, while he was in office the people could be entirely indifferent to the public good; the manager would take care of it. This condition would be almost as fatal to the welfare of a democracy as the opposite type of manager. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It is always the laziness of the people in looking after their own interests that gives the boss and the corrupt oligarchy their chance.

Labeling a man democratic or republican sometimes enables him to get elected when he never would begin to be elected on his merits as a citizen. Those who wish to get unworthy men in the city council, then, favor national politics in city matters. He gets a party nomination because of his services to his party; fitness for the office is scarcely considered. It is just this that makes American cities the most corrupt in the world, and the most inefficiently and extravagantly governed.

A man running for office under the old system promises helpers that if they can elect him he will give them an easy

job with a good salary, and let the public pay them for the service. This is done almost openly and we have almost ceased to protest against it. Every politician of this sort is strenuously opposed to the City Manager Plan; it is easy to see why. A city manager would employ men solely to work, and if they loaf on the job or were unable to perform it they would be dismissed.

Not only is inefficient city management expensive and wasteful but it inflicts great suffering and loss especially upon the poor. Almost every town loses lives every year by typhoid fever. Yet typhoid fever is due solely to inefficient sanitary management. Every life so lost is a case of murder committed by the negative who stands in the way of modern, scientific city management. For the man who opposes improvement must assume responsibility for the things which need to be improved.

There are men who want control of the offices in order to pay political (and sometimes other) debts. The greater the number of offices under political control the greater the resources of the party managers. A man who works for the election of a state or national officer is rewarded by being given a fat city office. The offices are considered "Spoils" to which the victors have an honest title, and party managers regard with the greatest consternation any move to deprive them of their "rights".

The negative are in reality not arguing against the city manager plan at all, but against democracy. They are trying to prove that democracy cannot do business in a business way; that it is inefficient, rotten, incapable; that it cannot introduce improved methods which are successful elsewhere. They talk about the city manager plan being pro-german; it is those who slander democracy, it is they who are "hoching der Kaiser". The man who slanders democracy is by implication upholding autocracy.

It must not be forgotten that in a democracy the selfish, the corrupt, the worst people have just as much voice in the government as others. A democracy is powerless to elect the best men to office, except very rarely and then by accident. It is doubtless true that it need not be so weak but we must be governed by the facts as they actually are. Nobody questions that good people could make the city manager plan work well; but it is equally true that bad people can make it work badly.

The chief trouble with our present system is that people do not see where the real difficulty lies. The only possible way

to improve the sanitary conditions of a city is to make that the issue in municipal elections. If in city politics all local issues are ignored, and the only issues considered are those of national politics and office seekers, how can we expect that local matters can receive intelligent attention? The adoption of the city manager plan will compel the people to attend to local issues.

If the best men in the city could be elected as the commission which appoints the manager it might work; but we know that we cannot do that. We do not do it now; we can't do it under our present electoral methods; we never have done it. If the city manager were adopted we would go on electing the same kind of men we have always elected. The men who make money out of the city would still take the greatest interest in the elections, while the rest of the people would pay little attention to them.

It is hard to see how anything could be clearer than that the issues of national politics are entirely distinct from those of local politics. No political partizan, even under the stress of political exigencies, has ever been able to show any connection between them. The only possible reason for connecting them is that it enables corrupt men to get elected who could not possibly be elected on their merits. This affords a way for selfish interests to get men into municipal office who will do their bidding.

One of the chief arguments for the city manager plan is that it eliminates national politics from municipal elections. Unless it can succeed in doing this, even its strongest advocates admit that it cannot succeed. But why are the two so terribly incompatible as all that? The reason is that the city manager is autocratic, while democracy cannot exist without party organizations which the city manager advocates are seeking to destroy. They may not mean to antagonize democracy but nevertheless they are doing it.

And if a citizen takes great interest in civic affairs and makes great sacrifices for the public benefit, what good does it do? Those whose grafts he interferes with will charge him with selfish motives and the careless, indifferent people will believe them. Most men in public life come to the conclusion that it does not pay to sacrifice for the public good. The public that cries "Hozanna" one day and "Crucify Him" the next

still exists. The ideal system of government will have to wait till the public appreciate such things.

We are fighting a great war for the advancement of civilization. How can it advance when its plague spots are the cities which ought to lead in progress? What we lose morally and financially, materially and spiritually by corrupt and inefficient city government is beyond all calculation. What possible reason for continuing it? Instead of being the despair of civilization the cities should lead it; they must lead it if there is to be any progress. No one can deny that the city manager plan is an attempt to improve things.

What principles of national politics are involved in local politics? Not one. What does the national tariff policy have to do with keeping streets clean, enforcing sanitary laws, or the protection of property? Politics is our national game; we play it as we do football, merely to win. It is our great American abomination, our weakest point. It is high time that every American was getting ashamed of it. Adoption of the city manager plan will abolish national politics from the municipal affairs of the city which adopts it.

It is argued that a city manager is a legalized boss. It is possible that some people do not know the difference between a manager and a boss. A city manager has no quality in common with the political boss. The manager is appointed by the commission elected by the people, and may be removed by them at any time there is sufficient reason. He has no liberty except what the commission give him. They are responsible to the people for everything he does or fails to do. The talk of the manager being a boss is the merest bosh.

The negative's main argument is that the city manager plan wont work, and yet it is working and working more successfully than any plan that has ever been tried. It is not only working in Germany but in England, in Canada, in New Zealand, and in scores of cities in the United States. Men confidently told us that steam ships were impossible, that airplanes were impossible, that submarines were impossible; what does such arguments amount to? The city manager plan is a success, a great success; it does work, and works well.

No man can deny that one of the greatest needs of our country is more of business efficiency in the management of our cities; they are more like moral cesspools in many cases than centers of business, education, and culture. The city man-

ager plan offers this by introducing into city government the same principles of business management which are used in every other business under the sun, and have been overwhelmingly successful in almost every case; more successful than any other plan ever was. What more can we ask?

Another advantage of the city manager plan is that shortens the ballot. No more monstrous absurdity was ever devised than our present long ballots. Every voter finds on his ballot a host of names of men whom he knows nothing whatever about, so he votes by guess, preposterous as it seems, and, likely as not, votes for the worst man and defeats the best man. And we actually call this voting! He would get just as good results if he threw dice or tost up a nickel. Under the city manager plan he votes for only a few men and can know what he is doing.

The city manager has to be a college man. He must be trained, educated, etc. It is a well known fact that the average American town will not elect well educated men to municipal offices if they can help it. A man who wears kid gloves and a plug hat couldn't be elected dog catcher in any town in Oklahoma. That is why the affirmative wish the city manager to be elected by a commission. But if the city manager is the chief official of the city nothing can prevent the individual citizen from voting for him indirectly if not directly.

The negative indulge in a good deal of demagogry about the city manager plan coming from Germany. As a matter of fact it doesn't, tho they have a similar thing there. But suppose it does? They breathe air in Germany; shall we refuse to because they use it? In order to strengthen itself the German autocracy has introduced many of the very best methods to be found to the whole world. It has long been known that the German cities are the best managed cities on earth, and if they used the city manager plan it would be a great endorsement.

It is said that a city should be managed like a business corporation. But a city is not like a corporation. It is not run for profit. You cannot have proxy voting, and no corporation could live without proxy voting. A business corporation is run to make money out of its patrons; but a city is run to serve its patrons. There are always those who make money out of corrupt management in a city, but corrupt management of a business corporation would speedily bankrupt it. The claim is a plausible fallacy; there is no truth in it whatever.

It must be remembered that the man who does his duty is

certain to be very unpopular with those who wish him to do otherwise. A small minority which is thwarted in a corrupt scheme is certain to be a great deal more active and diligent in opposing a manager than the majority who give but little attention to public matters at best. The existence of such a selfish faction in every town is an absolute certainty, and such a faction can destroy a city manager easily unless our electoral system is changed so that the majority can always rule.

The negative object to employing non-local men as managers, they claim that it offends local pride, etc. But we do exactly the same thing in the case of superintendents of schools. In our schools we want the best and we get them wherever we can. Most of our citizens desire the very best municipal service we can get; then why not go after it and get where we can? If we have no resident dentist we do not take our toothaches to a lawyer or a blacksmith. Why can we not use the same common sense in city matters that we do in other affairs?

It certainly is as evident as anything can be that the City Manager Plan is autocratic. This is the chief argument for it. It may be admitted that autocracy has some merits in a country where an autocratic form of government prevails. But we are hearing everywhere now that democracy is the complete negation of autocracy. Introducing an autocratic method into an autocracy is an utterly different proposition from introducing an autocracy into a democracy. If it did not work well, of course we would not want it; if it did work well it would undermine our democracy.

We are fighting to make the world "safe for democracy". But how can democracy be safe with an autocratic institution like the city manager plan warring against it; or what is the same thing, against the party organization without which democracy cannot exist? We should beware of establishing so near the heart of our political life as the city manager would be, an institution which is so antagonistic to our democratic organization. We should not let any specious arguments about "efficiency" deceive us, especially when the world is doing so much to establish democracy.

It is said that the intelligence and public spirit in any city may be judged from the character of the men who are elected to public office. This is not always true, for many of the best business men refuse to hold city offices. They are accustomed to doing business in a business-like way and refuse to be

mixt up in the incompetent and wasteful performances which are designated city business. There is no reason under heaven why the city business should not be done with as much efficiency and thoroness as any other business. The city manager system actually does this; therefore the affirmative advocate it.

The premature introduction of a reform is often its worst enemy. Many a reform has failed miserably because it was introduced before the people were ready for it. If the advocates of the city manager plan would go at the matter right end foremost they would soon find out that conditions are far from being ready for such an experiment; that the people are not enuf interested in their civic affairs; that they are not near ready to give up national politics in city elections;—in other words they will agree with the negative that the city manager plan should not be introduced in cities of 5000 inhabitants, nor any other number.

A few years ago, Sumpter, S. C. adopted the City Manager Plan and the fact was heralded far and wide. They advertised for a Manager and paid him \$2400 a year. He made great claims of success, but they turned him off and employd another at \$3200 a year, and he resignd soon because he had nothing to and nothing to do it with. The advocates of City Manager say that the failure was not due to any defect or weakness in the plan, but to the fact that the people would not give up national politics in city elections; and that unless they do completely abandon such politics the city manager plan cannot succeed.

The negative say we should not try to run city affairs on business principles. Why shouldn't we? We are a lot of rational human beings trying to live together in a city. We all have certain business interests in common. We unite to get water, drainage, usable streets, etc. because we can get more efficient service and at less cost than if each one acted independently. Many excellent things we could not get at all unless we acted together. The efficient management of all municipal agencies is a matter of business, pure business. Even the negative talk about "city business". If you dont do business in a business way, how will you do it?

In the business world a single manager often manages a much larger and more intricate business than that of a city of many thousands of inhabitants. Every business has a manager of some kind except a city when run according to the ideas

of the negative. If there is business to be managed, why not have a single manager? You have got to have some kind of management why not have good management, expert management, especially when it costs less and brings far better results? More than two-thirds of the cities having city managers have found it cheaper, and where they have cost more it was because greater service was rendered in almost every case.

In one county in Oklahoma a man was elected record clerk who could not write a legible hand. A majority of the people preferred to have a clerk who couldn't write, to one of the opposite party who was an expert. This is not only insanity; it is treason: treason to every local interest, to all our democratic institutions, to every principle of common sense and common decency. Why was it done? Simply because the attention of voters had been diverted from essential and relevant things to national political matters which did not apply at all. The city manager plan lays such stress on local interests and the city business that they simply cannot be ignored.

The affirmative is not arguing that the city manager plan should be adopted provided, and as soon as we change our political ideals and practices so that it would have some chance to succeed. No, they are claiming that we should adopt the city manager plan just as we are, without any preparatory reforms, without abandoning our irrational and silly combining of national politics with municipal matters. While we keep up that practise, any system must fail, and everybody knows it; then why go to the trouble and expense of introducing new systems which the advocates themselves admit cannot succeed unless partizanship and national politics are absolutely eliminated?

We are chiefly dependent on the newspapers for the discussion of new methods of government. But most of the newspapers are partisan. They cannot live without the support and patronage of the politicians, and are often edited by that type of politicians we call "machine politicians". The city usually pays more for its advertising and job work than business men. This is defended on the ground that the party paper does so much for the party, such indispensable service, that it should be paid in this way. But a city manager would change all that; he would get his printing done where it was done cheapest and best; all graft would be eliminated and many papers would suffer.

A party organization must always listen to the pleas of

the poor, or of any who are being wronged, because they furnish the great majority of the votes. It is certain that party organization is an advantage to them. If the party deceives them or fails to keep its promises they can easily put it out of power. And our parties will keep their pledges far better than any other political institution ever has in human history, because it is simple suicide if they do not do it. Then since a political party is a permanent institution all its mistakes and failures remain to plague it indefinitely. Any proposal, then, like city manager plan is only a covert attack upon the whole party system.

The affirmative think that because they believe they have a good kind of seed wheat they will sow it broadcast without preparing the ground for it, or making any preparation whatever. If someone objects to their procedure they reply by extolling the bread-making qualities of their wheat, its superiority to all other kinds, etc. They ignore the essential questions whether the soil is suited for it or not, or whether proper preparation has been made. The great objection to the city manager is that it is not adapted to our political ideas and practises; that it will take a long agitation and schooling to prepare us for such a scheme of government, even if it were a good one, which is not yet proved.

They claim that the city manager would be out of politics. National politics perhaps, but not personal politics. If a city manager refuses to be a tool of some selfish interest, when a commissioner is to be elected the sole issue would be, "Will he vote to continue the manager in office?" It is safe to say that the reappointment of the city manager would be an issue in every election. Just as in the election of the president. The makers of the constitution thought that the people would vote for electors who would use their best judgment in choosing a president. But the electors were mere figure-heads from the start. The only question any one ever asks about an elector is whom will he support for president.

It is claimed that the city manager plan is the same as the way great businesses are managed. But in this claim the fundamental distinction is ignored. Nobody ever heard of a business being run on political principles and methods. It is this refusal to recognize plain facts that vitiates all the arguments for city manager. It is perfectly true that any private business run as public business is would quickly come to ruin; but that does not

change the fact one iota that the way we run public business is the way the people want it run. It's what they vote for every time they get a chance. Now the negative affirm that while that condition exists the city manager plan should NOT be adopted in cities of 5000 or more inhabitants.

The affirmative innocently assume that if they could get their plan adopted every city manager would be a paragon of virtues and efficiency. But what if they should get the opposite kind of manager and he was backed by a commission interested in keeping him? What if they were unable to find the city manager they fondly dream of? Where in the world could city managers like the ones the affirmative talk about be found? Don't they know that if they had such a city manager he would be despised and rejected of men? That they could not keep him in office?

In national matters the separation of the legislative and executive departments is advantageous; but it does not follow that such separation is equally desirable in the smaller range of local government. If the legislative part of a city government passes an ordinance which the executive department does not approve, they will either not enforce it at all, or will not enforce it effectively. It is far better that those who make local laws should enforce them. If a law is not enforced the legislative department blames the executive department. They retort that the law was defective and could not be enforced. Each blames the other and the people cannot tell who is to blame. We sacrifice good government to mere academic theory.

The usual duties of the city manager are: (1) Be the administrative head of the city. (2) See that all the laws of the state and ordinances of the city are executed. (3) Attend all meetings of the commission, giving information and recommending measures he deems necessary. (4) Make reports to the commission, keeping the commissioners fully advised as to everything pertaining to the business and needs of the city. (5) Prepare a budget for the next year. (6) Appoint all officers, laborers, etc., and see that they perform their duties. (7) Remove employees who fail to do the work required. (8) Fix the duties required of all employees of the city. For any failure, injustice, or wrong-doing the commission may remove him.

Advocates of the City Manager Plan seem to take it for granted that every city manager would be an expert; that he would be a paragon of efficiency and unselfishness. There

might be a few cases where that might be the case, but it is as certain as anything human can be that a great many, probably the great majority would mere office seekers and ambitious politicians. Most men who get elected to office are merely good fellows, popular, good campaigners, good mixers; their real qualifications for the office seldom receive much if any consideration. These are FACTS; it is useless to deny them. It is wicked folly to put so much power into the hands of one man when we are powerless to elect a worthy and capable man to such an office.

John Fiske, one of the greatest and wisest thinkers America has yet produced, said, "For representation, elect; for administration, appoint". Does any one suppose that we would get as good school superintendents if they were elected by popular vote as we now get by appointment by the school board? The fact is the average voter does not even know all of the candidates he must vote for: still less does he know minutely their different qualifications. Why ask men to vote on what they know nothing about? They do not express their will; for they have none. How can a man have a preference between things he knows nothing whatever about? Under the city manager plan the voter informs himself thoroly about a very few men, and then holds them responsible for what they do.

Democracy can never be made successful without the preferential ballot, especially in primaries and in municipal elections. In no other way can the majority rule. But there are too many factions which do not wish the majority to rule. A rule by the majority is the very last thing which a selfish or corrupt interest wishes, because they would very seldom if ever be able to get a majority of the voters to support them. We do not, then, have democracy at its best. We are fortunate if we do not have it at its worst. If people really want reforms and improvements, the first step is to make democracy more efficient by adopting the preferential ballot in municipal elections. Give democracy a chance to elect the men it wants, then, and not till then can we expect its government will be successful.

It is not solid reasons that retard the introduction of the city manager plan, but the opposition of so many of those who have been running our cities for private ends. They are strongly entrenched; they know the game better than the business men and public spirited citizens who favor reform and improvement. They are so strongly entrenched that there was not a city in

America which was not disgracefully mismanaged. It took a terrific storm to drive them out at Galveston, an earthquake at San Francisco, and a flood at Dayton. There the public need was so desperate that business men took charge and managed things better in disaster than the old rings had in prosperous times. It was thus that civic reform started in the United States. What the negative seem to need is an earthquake, not argument.

National party organizations are necessary to a free government. If a new party had to be created every four years, the cost to consider only one drawback would be so great that no party could possibly win that did not have the support of the rich interests who would be willing to finance such a party. A poor man could never run for office unless he sold himself out to something that would pay his campaign expenses. National parties watch each other closely, and so the party in power is held to its duties. If it betrays its trust there is an organization all ready to publish the facts. That this may be done effectively the organization of the party out of power must be kept up and kept efficient and active. Municipal politics furnish just the opportunity and the field for doing this; and the only one.

If the City Manager Plan is as good as its advocates claim why limit it to cities of 5000 inhabitants? Why shouldn't the smaller towns have the benefit of it? We have only about 35 cities in Oklahoma of 5,000 or more inhabitants; why not word the question so that every town in the state would have some interest in it? Simply because national politics cannot be eliminated from the smaller towns, so possibly the affirmative may have a fighting chance to win in this discussion by excluding nearly all the towns in the state. As a matter of fact you cannot exclude politics from the large towns any better than from the small ones, if indeed, as well. For in the large towns political organizations are stronger and much more efficient than in the small ones. The very statement of the question is a confession that the city manager plan will not work in most towns.

All the world admits that Germany has the most efficiently and economically managed cities in the world. There city managing is a profession that men prepare for by thoro study just as they do for medicine or engineering, and they are called from place to place just as school superintendents are with us. Each city has the benefit of a manager who has learned all that can be known of how most effectively to provide for the health.

comfort, and convenience of the inhabitants of a city; a man who is acquainted with all that science and engineering and sociology contribute to human welfare; no wonder that the German cities are the best managed in the world. And we can have as good here. It is only a matter of running a city on business principles; of getting men to do things who know how to do them. That is the whole meaning of the city manager plan.

We all want better municipal government; the negative is just as desirous and anxious for it as the affirmative. The only remedy for our present ills is the elimination of national politics from municipal government and electing men entirely on their merits. This can never be done without the Preferential Ballot. If the question read, Resolved: That all towns having the Preferential Ballot should adopt the City Manager Plan, the affirmative would have a real case. Few of the present opponents would object to it. But to propose a strongly centralized government where the people would have no practicable means of controlling it is a monstrous absurdity. The people do not always elect the best men to office now and cant elect them under our present electoral system. But the politicians dont want the Preferential Ballot and most good citizens dont yet know what it is even.

Political leaders say that in order to keep up party organizations so that they may be effective in national politics it is absolutely necessary to keep them busy; to have them take part in just as many elections as possible. If the party organizations went to pieces after each biennial or quadriennial election it would be impossible to make them effective, if, indeed, they could be resurrected at all. We have party government; we believe in it; there is no possible thought of giving it up. History has revealed nothing better, or as good. The city manager plan, then, by eliminating national politics from municipal elections would make party government impossible by making it impossible to keep up efficient party organization. Even if the party system did not work perfectly in towns, it might be better to keep it there because of its great value in helping to keep up efficient national party organizations.

Every believer in democracy freely admits that it is not as efficient as an autocracy. We do not support democracy because it is the best government, or because it is the most efficient form of government; we believe in democracy because it produces a far more moral and efficient type of people. To see the effects of the two types of government we have only to com-

pare Germany and America. Of the fifty greatest inventions of the last fifty years the Americans have invented 37 and the Germans two. Compare the horrible brutalities and inhumanities of the Germans in the Great war with the way Americans behave. In the Spanish-American war, the captain of an American battleship, when a Spanish ship was sinking, cried to his men, "Dont Shout; they are dying". Compare the way Germans have done in Belgium with the way Americans have done. We don't want anything German in ours.

The real question in this debate is not the City Manager Plan, but the limitations of democracy. We cannot enjoy our liberties and our free institutions without paying the price. The City Manager is in perfect keeping with German autocracy, but is utterly out of harmony with our American political habits. We must not subject our democracy to too great strain if we would keep it at its best. We frankly admit the inefficiencies of democracy. Nobody claims that it is as efficient as autocracy. We believe in it because it makes people the very opposite of Germans and Turks. We believe in it because of its moral effects, its effects on ideals, on invention, on progress. The city manager plan is confessedly autocratic. If it should be successful it would weaken our regard for democracy. It would demonstrate that in city government autocracy was better than democracy. That would be the first step; that would admit the camel's head into the tent. Before we can accept the city manager plan it will have to be modified so that it is not autocratic but democratic.

Another impossible feature of the City Manager Plan is the proposal to place the entire municipal business in the hands of a non-resident, a man who has no interests in the city and whose investments may even be in a rival town. Local men whose faults are known are to be set aside for a stranger whose faults are not known. The common way of looking at such a proposition is shown by a recent editorial in the *Daily Oklahoman*:

"If there is one habit to which cities are more addicted than any other it is that of sending away for men to fill vacancies or assume duties in which home talent could be more efficient, proficient, faithful, zealous, and everything, else.

"When a person sits down to figure the reasons for this un-failing propensity he finds it a problem too complex and difficult for human solution. There is no answer. There can be none. For no reason exists in the world why persons ignorant of local conditions, environments, customs, ambitions, and what-not should be brought from afar when in ninety nine cases out

of a hundred instances better men, better fitted in every way are right at home yearning for the chance,—but couldn't get it if they paid a bonus.

"The above stated rule—for it is a rule—invariably applies to quasi public posts. Qualified local men are scorned and the distant so-called expert employed. Usually he does not measure up to the high ideals fixt for him to attain. Which is no surprise to the keen student, who suspected in the beginning that had he been everything desired his former employer would not have permitted separation from him.

"Oklahoma City has men of ability and capacity equal to anywhere, and they should be given an opportunity to show what is in them. They should not have their hopes blasted by a foolish and unprofitable civic policy of hiring nearly anybody just so he hail from somewhere else. They should not be forced to go into a far country to have their talents recognized.

"The next time a semi-public office is vacant, seek first among the homefolk for the right man. You'll find him."

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